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ABSTRACT

The Urban High School Reform Initiative was a Federal effort designed to review the educational and related needs of large city high school students, explore the Federal role in urban secondary education, and develop recommendations for a more effective Federal response to the continuing needs of these students and schools. This report contains the substance of the Initiative's work and includes data highlighting the particular needs and problems of students in large city secondary schools. Pilot outreach programs designed to test the feasibility of diversifying Federal efforts on behalf of these schools are briefly described. Five themes for the reform of urban secondary schools, including shared decision making, diverse learning environments, school-community development, school finance and red tape, and research and dissemination, are outlined. Recommendations are offered for consideration by the new Department of Education in order that its organization may be more responsive to urban needs. A bibliography is appended to the report. (Author/GC)

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ERIC/CUE

Revitalizing Urban High Schools

The key unit for educational change is the individual school, with its principal, teachers, students, parents, and community setting. The basic ingredients for learning and teaching are there.... To become more vital, schools (which are the personification of the people who comprise them) must become more responsive to their own problems and needs and to the rich array of resources, including alternative models, available for dealing effectively with these problems .... Yet, those involved in this inner process must have access to the new knowledge and skills that are called for on the part of those who are to effect change. There must be some way for outside resources and inside needs to come together productively and harmoniously. The inner process taking place in individual schools must be supported and encouraged from the outside. To be functional, this strategy requires a great deal more faith in the desire and ability of those working in schools to participate productively in the designing of their own work places. The nature of this reconstruction on a school-by-school basis means moving forward on a broken front and not as part of some grand strategy in lock-step manner. It suggests granting authority to a school to heal itself.

URBAN HIGH SCHOOL INITIATIVE
REGIONAL CONFERENCE

Summary Report:
Region V, Columbus, Ohio,
December 14, 1978, p. 17

The Urban High School Reform Initiative

FINAL REPORT

Thomas J. Burns, Chairman

September 1979

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Foreword

Two years ago I was asked by Commissioner Ernest Boyer to chair a federal initiative addressing the reform of the urban secondary school. In so doing, the Commissioner and Dr. John Ellis, Executive Deputy Commissioner for Educational Programs, expressed the desire to involve a cross section of all major U.S. Office of Education bureaus and programs. More than fifty USOE program officers participated in the Urban High School Reform Initiative. We also knew that Federal government suggestions for reform must be based on testimony from local urban practitioners and citizens who know what they need. We listened to nearly 1,000 people from America's largest cities. They deserve special thanks for accepting the additional responsibility. Two other people, Stephen Somers and Linda Wilson, served as full-time members of the Initiative. Without their dedication to task, this report could not have been written with such depth and deliberation.

The Final Report of the Urban High School Reform Initiative is intended to provide a basis for the re-examination of what we, as educational leaders, can do to help urban secondary schools face the challenges of the 1980s. It is just this kind of analysis that can lead to the reforms we have seen in elementary education over the last fifteen years. Millions of disadvantaged children have been helped and many innovative programs have succeeded in improving their educational - and future - life chances. We have lowered or overcome barriers and contraints, ranging from the conceptual, through the historical, social, political and legal - to the physical. Now, we must expand our horizons to reach secondary school youth particularly in the inner city where the need is most urgent.

This report acknowledges the needs, aspirations, and changing conditions that challenge educational leaders and other thoughtful citizens to look carefully at today's urban secondary schools - to reinforce that which is good, useful and productive, to re-shape or discard those practices that are outmoded, and to develop new, creative approaches to emerging needs and opportunities. If this document serves to stimulate conversation that leads to such positive actions at the urban secondary school site, its purposes will have been fulfilled.

Thomas J. Burns

Thomas J. Burns
Chairman

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Index of Abbreviations

AASA - American Association of School Administrators
AFT - American Federation of Teachers
CCSSO - Council of Chief State School Officers
CDBG - Community Development Block Grant
CETA - Comprehensive Employment and Training Act
CGCS - Council of Great City Schools
CSA - Community Services Administration (U.S.)
DAC - Desegregation Assistance Center
DHEW - Department of Health, Education and Welfare
DOL - U.S. Department of Labor
EIC - Education Information Center
EOC - Education Opportunity Center
ESEA - Elementary and Secondary Education Act
ERIC - Education Resources Information Center
GEPA - General Education Provisions Act
HEA - Higher Education Act
HUD - U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
IHE - Insitution of Higher Education
IVD - Identification, Validation, Dissemination (State programs)
LEA - Local Education Agency
NAACP - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NASBE - National Association of State Boards of Education
NASSP - National Association of Secondary School Principals
NCES - National Center for Education Statistics (U.S.)
NDN - National Diffusion Network
NEA - National Education Association
NIE - National Institute of Education (U.S.)
NMI - National Manpower Institute
NSBA - National School Boards Association
NSVP - National School Volunteer Program
PAC - Parent Advisory Council
RDU - Research and Development Utilization (NIE project)
SEA - State Education Agency
SF - State Facilitator
SSA - Social Security Administration (U.S.)
USOE - U.S. Office of Education
YEDPA - Youth Employment Demonstration Program Act
YETP - Youth Employment Training Program

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

"Bury them at twelve and dig them up at twenty." Perhaps you have not heard it before, but that remark is longstanding advice for all parents of troublesome teenagers. Secondary schooling structures have particularly devastating effects on inner city junior and senior high school students. Urban educational programs have not changed substantially in the last half century, in spite of the fact that contemporary city students resemble little their predecessors of fifty years ago. Many of those schools are turning out or pushing out teenagers who have scant hope of ever really "unearthing" themselves. Under skilled and largely unemployed, these young people, particularly the poor and minority students, are being relegated to a status of permanent dependency upon society.

Urban secondary schools house some of the most pressing problems confronting public education in the United States today. Successful inner city junior and senior high programs do exist, but they are atypical. Some of the symptoms of serious educational distress are:

- achievement scores lower than regional, State and national averages;
- alarmingly high dropout rates, particularly among minority teenagers;
- escalating incidence of in-school violence;
- limited postsecondary study and work options;
- continuing minority isolation and covert if not overt racism in spite of desegregation mandates;
- a retreat of urban middle class students, black and white, to private schools;
- a public lack of confidence which translates into dwindling financial support;
- urban school district bureaucracies that are resistant to change.

In recognition of the plight of those schools, U.S. Commissioner Ernest L. Boyer established the Urban High School Reform Initiative in 1977. The interbureau leaders on this U.S. Office of Education (USOE) task force hoped that the confluence of diverse expertise would lead to dynamic new directions for Federal urban secondary educational policy.

During its two-year study, the Urban High School Reform Initiative surveyed large city high school conditions and assessed the impact of USOE programs on those schools. Our preliminary, internal study completed in August, 1978, the Phase I Report on Extended Urban High School Reform, found that urban teenagers are likely to get an inferior education and that USOE is doing almost nothing about it. Only one USOE program could legitimately be said to have an urban secondary focus: the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Education Program (ADAEP). Out of $11.3 billion in program funds appropriated for FY 1979, only one two-million dollar program was aimed specifically at inner city secondary students. Of course, some other programs devote a portion of their funds to the education of these young people. Yet there is no critical mass of federal funding support for urban secondary schools.

The mission of Federal government support and intervention in elementary and secondary education has been primarily to ensure equal educational opportunity for all. Particular attention has been paid to the traditionally disenfranchised sectors of our population: the poor, the minorities and the handicapped. While the fifteen years since the Civil Rights Act of 1964 have not eliminated the racial, cultural and socio-economic injustices in our social structure (a task many now view as an unrealistic expectation for a society's school system), they have brought us closer to giving disadvantaged students a fairer chance. Recent literature points to some successes attributable to the Federal compensatory effort, but the successes have been documented only at the elementary level. A few States, such as California and Florida, are beginning to concentrate new compensatory dollars on secondary schools. Policy makers in Washington have of late been considering ways that they can promote this new direction.

The Department of Labor Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and Youth Employment Demonstration Project Act (YEDPA) are helping some secondary school students escape the confines of unresponsive educational institutions. If the public school system cannot or will not respond to these challenges, others will. Witness the voucher movement in California, the surprising stability of private schools in a time of enrollment decline, and the recurring prospect of tuition tax credits that would make those schools even more alluring.

The task of assessing urban education is necessarily one that includes dealing with broad social, economic and political factors. Demographics, employment and other measures of social well-being are reflected in disparities in basic skills and in dropout rates. We began to talk about this in the Phase I Report. We completed the analysis in Chapter One, "WHY URBAN SECONDARY", by citing these "Urban Factors" and by discussing current educational issues ("Schooling Factors"), the contemporary teenager ("Adolescent Factors"), and the status of government support for urban secondary education ("Federal and State Aid Factors"). A case can be made for overwhelming need in urban secondary schools.

The Initiative recognized from the start that local urban communities had to share responsibility for the education of their adolescents. Consequently, the task force launched six pilot outreach projects which are reviewed briefly in Chapter Two, "PILOT OUTREACH ACTIVITIES", and evaluated in full by team leaders in Appendix C. All six were designed to test the feasibility of linking the urban secondary school to the world outside: to the home, the world of work and other community institutions. We hoped that the pilot projects could alleviate some of the pressures that currently inhibit the schools' ability to teach youngsters how to read, write and reason. The pilot projects are: 1. Urban Feedback - to improve the sensitivity of Federal and State educational program managers to urban secondary school conditions; 2. Prevention Rather Than Remediation - to reduce destructive behavior among urban students through the development of "feeder" school environments that strengthen student self-esteem and attitudes toward educational achievement; 3. Volunteer Career Planning Networks - to encourage community volunteers to help individual urban adolescents with career planning; 4. Lifelong Opportunity Center - an integrated services delivery model to offer centralized educational and occupational information, personalized guidance and referral services to all age groups; 5. Urban Secondary Exemplary Programs - to identify and disseminate exemplary educational programs conducive to urban secondary school reform; 6. Legislation to Extend Urban Secondary School Reform - to draft legislation on the basis of testimony from urban secondary school constituents. Several of the pilot efforts met with considerable success and are being institutionalized. Others taught participants from the local, State and Federal levels some important lessons about intervention and innovation in urban education.

Federal government suggestions for reform must be based on (actually derived from) what local urban practitioners and citizens know they need. We listened to the testimony of nearly 1,000 people from 24 of America's 25 largest cities, 47 other principal urban centers and 25 smaller municipalities in Regional Urban High School Conferences. Ten big city school districts and USOE's Regional Offices hosted varying mixes of: urban secondary school students, parents, teachers, counselors, principals, superintendents and other district administrators. State and local school board members, other State officials, business, community organization and public agency leaders, legislative staff, clerics, respresentatives of higher education, and national organization leaders. They told us what they wanted their secondary schools to do! They alerted us to the school site-level problems they face every day and that we tend to overlook. It was our job to compile the findings from twenty regional reports and present them in such a way that other Federal and State program officers would pay attention and act on them. This we attempted to do in Chapter Three, "STRATEGIES FOR REFORM." The five major themes for reform are:

I. Shared Decision-Making through School Site Councils and School Site Budgeting;
II. Diverse Learning Environments requiring site specific blueprints for Educational Program Development and Professional Development;
III. School-Community Development including Networking with the urban community and Coordinated Youth Services;
IV. School Finance and Red Tape Reform to reduce management complexity of urban secondary schools; and
V. Research and Dissemination targeted for the extraordinary needs of adolescents.

Chapter Three highlights major strategies, enumerates important recommendations and synthesizes the roles of significant individuals, organizations and the Federal government.

The key to reform seems to be time: time for educators, particularly principals, to exercise educational leadership, to conduct needs assessments, to design comprehensive educational plans; time for teachers to innovate, to enlist the active involvement of parents, students and community members and organizations. Reducing paperwork and red tape can provide more time for other activities.

To be responsive to the diverse needs of its multicultural and disproportionately poor clientele, the inner city junior or senior high school must change. Rigid, traditional program structures must be diversified.

City kids are smart in many ways. TV, technology and complex urban environments make these adolescents "street-wise." It is tough to motivate them in four-walled classrooms for six hours, five days a week. Th schools must capitalize on the rich resources that abound in cities: the varied careers to explore, the museums, libraries, governing bodies, colleges, theatres, recreational facilities, sporting events and community centers. When this does not happen, too many city youth will prefer the immediacy of street life to the seemingly meaningless drudgery of their schools. To fulfill their goal of easing youths' transition from the educational process to a productive adulthood, the schools must work with and through their urban environments.

For this result to occur, the Federal government will have to refocus its own priorities to supply the high risk capital necessary to instigate change. Without Federal leadership and without real incentives for reform, the States on their own initiative are not likely to come to the aid of their troublesome city schools. Even with concerted State school finance reform efforts under way in more than twenty

States, researchers report that, so far, the measures are doing little to accomplish equalization of spending. They fall far short of achieving true funding parity for overburdened urban school systems.

Nor for that matter can urban school districts alone be expected to find the extra money it would take to revamp their secondary school programs. They are much more likely to "write-off" the adolescent "tune-outs" and dropouts as lost causes and stick to the established priorities of concentrating on the much more tractable elementary school children. But the gains being made in these inner city grade schools are being lost in the junior and senior high school. Steps are recommended to maintain the progress made in the elementary schools.

Schools generally reflect the socio-economic conditions of the communities they serve. Policy makers are aware of the intensity and complexity of the problems facing core cities. Federal and State governments are intervening with some success in housing, transportation, economic rehabilitation, employment and elementary education. Though leading social scientists have argued that schools can mitigate the social, economic and cultural disadvantages of poverty and racial bias, others disagree. There has not yet been a consensus of support for aid for the urban secondary school.

We in the Federal government must generate coherent urban secondary education policies that foster local capacity for reform, and that give local educators time, funds and other resources to coordinate big city education programs on behalf of young people. The first step in the development of the Policy Recommendations presented in Chapter Four is the legislative analysis, Federal Educational Law and Urban Secondary School Reform: Volume I. Reform Recommendations and Volume II. Federal Support. It appears in full in Appendices A and B. By matching major recommendations emanating from the Urban High School Reform conferences to sections of existing Federal legislation, we hope to meet three objectives:

1. To help urban secondary school practitioners get the best use from presently available Federal funds, as new urban or secondary legislation is unlikely at this time;
2. To make Federal and State educational program managers more aware of urban secondary school needs and more able to use their program funds to meet those needs; and
3. To determine what programs hold the most potential for serving as the bulwark of an effectively coordinated Federal urban secondary education policy.

Federal educational legislation is much broader than many educators realize. The recently reauthorized Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) is particularly progressive. It is certainly amenable to supporting many urban secondary school reform activities.

Regressive interpretations of the law at every level of government effectively decimate its potential impact. Federal, State and local program specialists are afraid to go out on a limb. Wary of legal complications and audits, they create the restrictive regulations and other administrative bottlenecks that defeat Congressional intent. Although not necessarily explicit in its reformism, the legislative language of ESEA could support all of our recommendations that call for locally initiated change.

Fully endorsing the tradition of State and local control of public education, Congress is not willing to give the Federal government the prerogative to direct this reform. It certainly wants the legislation to foster local educational leadership. Congress is also disinclined toward enacting direct or "exclusively urban" education legislation to the detriment of other constituencies. Broader aid to the disadvantaged in rural as well as urban areas is more appealing to our nation's representatives. But there is a "hidden urban agenda" in ESEA that is significant enough to warrant comments like those heard at a November, 1978, meeting of the Council of Great City Schools: "It's the greatest piece of legislation for urban education since 1965." That says something to us!

Unfortunately, some Federal program officers may not be as enthusiastic as they should be about the effort to help urban secondary schools. While we could blame the presumed suburban-rural bias of Federal and State educational bureaucracies, or the impetus to maintain the status quo that exists in any entrenched organization, we must acknowledge that many bureaucrats are hesitant about overstepping the boundaries of the prescribed Federal role in public education. The law prohibits USOE from exercising control or directing local educational practices. It certainly is not precluded from providing leadership, technical assistance and working models of effective programs.

A special initiative must advocate. We do not expect all of our recommendations to be implemented automatically - tomorrow. We do, however, intend to provide a framework for a strong Federal urban secondary education policy.

In Chapter Four, "THE FEDERAL ROLE IN URBAN SCHOOL REFORM: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS," we concluded that the status quo is not acceptable. The case has been made again and again for the needs of students and staffs of urban secondary schools. Nevertheless, we concluded (despite our initial charge to propose new legislation) that at present it is unlikely that more elementary and secondary legislative programs could be enacted. We noted the flexibility of existing legislation. The best approach for the immediate future, we believe, would be the targeting of "concentration" grants and other discretionary funds toward urban secondary programs.

Our specific recommendations are:

1. Encourage targeting these new and/or untargeted funds to urban secondary school programs, coordinated with those of community organizations;

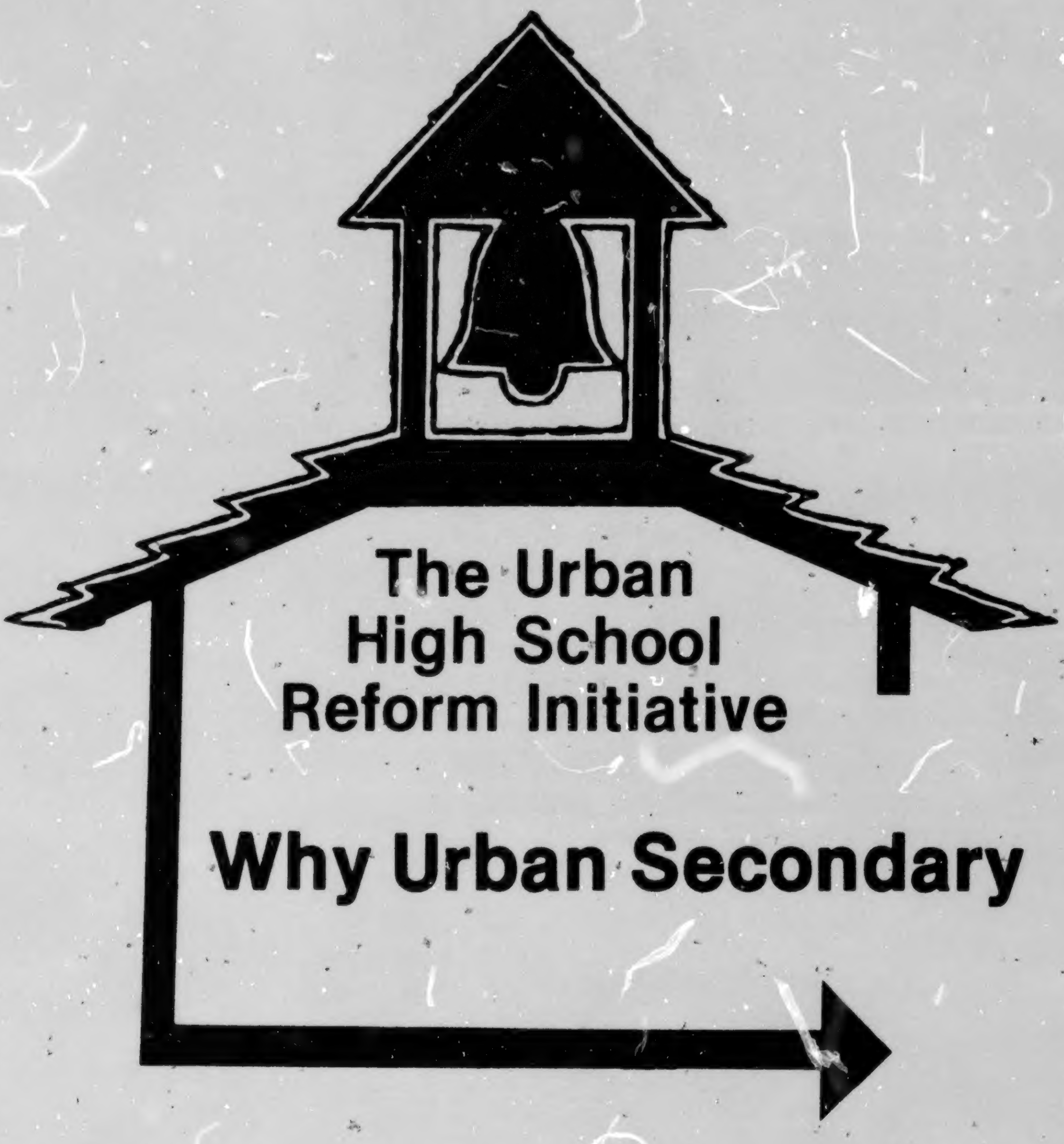
2. Establish a special advocate position for secondary school improvement, especially for urban schools (but without precluding aid to demonstrably under-served schools outside urban areas);

3. Develop a coherent Federal policy that gives priority for new funds or untargeted funds to the urban secondary schools.

New legislation would not be anticipated in the near term, but new legislative initiatives could well be an outgrowth of modest successes from the limited actions being undertaken without any special funding.

We believe that strong Federal leadership is necessary to overcome the inertia of all levels of the education bureaucracy: Federal, State and local. Combining internal advocacy with successful technical assistance activities is expected to lead to a new consensus on Federal priorities. Such a consensus could in turn lead to proposals that Congress would find attractive, creating new Federal programs in support of improving public secondary education. Targeting additional aid to a neglected level of schooling should not necessarily require reductions in the funds now allocated to students in elementary schools or in post-secondary institutions. Junior high school and senior high school students' needs, and those of their teachers and principals, must be taken as seriously as those of any other age group.

We, in the Urban High School Reform Initiative pose the question: "Why not the best for inner city teenagers?" It is a challenge that calls for immediate response. We hope that this report may serve as an agent against inaction and inertia, and as an incentive for initiative on behalf of the young people in our large cities. They deserve no less than our best efforts.



The Urban High School Reform Initiative

Why Urban Secondary

September 1979

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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Chapter One: WHY URBAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The most pressing problems confronting public education in the U.S. today are in urban secondary schools. Successful large city programs do exist, but these successes are atypical. In most urban junior and senior high schools one or more of these symptoms of serious educational distress can be found:

- .achievement scores lower than the regional, State and national averages;
- .alarmingly high dropout rates;
- .escalating incidences of in-school violence;
- ."battle fatigue" stress symptoms in students and staff;
- .principal turnover rates well above the average;
- .limited post-secondary study and work options;
- .continuing minority isolation and covert if not overt racism in spite of desegregation mandates;
- .a retreat of urban middle-class students to private schools;
- .a public vote of no confidence which translates into dwindling financial support;
- .urban school district resistance to change; and
- .Federal and State government reluctance to help.

These factors come as no surprise to policy makers aware that schools generally reflect the socio-economic conditions of the communities they serve.

URBAN FACTORS

Cities are in trouble. The nation's fifty largest show sizable areas of urban distress. 58% of all large cities and urban counties qualify for Urban Development Act grants targeted for severely distressed areas (HUD, Pockets..., 1979, p.v.). Central cities are particularly hard hit.

- .Median income for central city residents in constant 1976 dollars is $1,258 below the national median and $4,719 below the suburban median;
- .The percentage of population in poverty is rising in central cities (HUD, 1979, p.v.)

	% in Poverty 1970	% in Poverty 1977
central cities	14.9	15.8
suburbs	8.1	6.9

- The earnings gap between black and white residents in cities and between urban and non-urban residents is substantial (HUD, Pockets..., 1979, p. 6):

1976 Median Income

All Families		White	Black
$14,958	In metro. areas	$16,767	$ 9,934
	In central cities	15,086	9,361
	Outside central cities -	[illegible].699	12,037

- Native Americans, over 50% of whom live in cities, rank at the lowest of all racial and ethnic groups in income (Schultheis, 1976, p.41).

- The cost of living for a family of 4 is 8% higher in urban than in non-urban areas (HUD, Pockets..., 1979, p. 6).

Demographic data indicate that central cities are also increasingly minority isolated (HUD, Working..., 1979, p. 10).

- Population migration reveals that whites continue to move out of central cities at a rate considerably higher than that of blacks. Net Rate of Movement out of Central Cities between 1975-1977 figured as a percent of their population: white - 3.9%; black - 1.3%; Hispanic - 3.0%;

- 80.7% of all minorities live in metropolitan areas; 66.7% live in central cities.

Urban residents, as well as society as a whole, are aware of the special problems facing cities. Urban black and Hispanic respondents are generally two-to-three times more concerned about severe problems of crime, drug addiction, unemployment, condition of housing and lack of medical care than their white urban counterparts. Moreover, all groups surveyed viewed urban areas as the worst communities in which to live and raise children (HUD, 1[illegible], p.65).

SCHOOLING FACTORS

Not coincidently, city schools are also perceived by all groups surveyed as the worst of all schooling choices (HUD, 1978, p.67). Those most recently graduated, 18-25 years old metropolitan residents, give them the lowest ratings, followed by residents of urban areas with populations of more than one million.

The sheer numbers of youth attending schools in large cities highlight the need to focus attention on their schools. 31.1 million children attend schools in cities with populations of 50,000 or more (Statistical Abstract, 1978, p.142). Nearly one third attend schools in systems of 25,000 or more students (NCES, 1979, p. 78).

The size of urban secondary schools aggravates the situation. Nationally, the number of high schools has remained constant for the past twenty-five years, while enrollment has more than doubled (Statistical Abstract, 1978, pp 132, 153). Although decline will ease the problems, a high school with 4,000-5,000 students is not uncommon in cities. Studies indicate that as the size of staff and student body increases arithmetically, school management complexity increases exponentially. This factor, added to the general problems facing most educational systems today - uncertain financing, loss of students, aging teaching staff in a closed job market, outmoded management systems, inadequately trained school managers, growing litigation, new collective bargaining constraints, and growing public disenchantment with high costs social services - exacerbates the already difficult day-to-day operation of village size secondary schools. Only the schools have none of the neighborhood characteristics of a village. They tend to be large impersonal institutions where the traditional principal who knows everyone is a rarity.

Even with the current decline in student enrollment, secondary schools remain crowded. Pupil/teacher ratios are high; student/counselor ratios are absurd - 942/1 in New York City and averaging 600 -700/1 in most big cities (Goldin, 1977, p.36). "Battle fatigue" or "burn-out" is an increasingly common explanation for teacher absenteeism and withdrawal from urban schools. The threat of physical and psychic violence compounds the sense of having lost control of their classrooms. Teacher groups complain that the results of well meaning student rights advocacy is the erosion of teacher and principal authority.

Declining enrollments generally freeze the size of teaching staffs. There are few new teachers to bring in new ideas, and little money to retrain existing staff. Without ways to rekindle creativity, many older teachers stay on for the paycheck and benefits. A recent national survey of 1,600 high school principals found that for many the personal and financial rewards of their careers were no longer sufficient. One quarter indicated intentions to quit; and those that were identified as the very best were quitting faster - presumably because the demands of their doing jobs well burn them out faster (Seligman, 1978).

City school principals have the additional burdens of dealing with complex student populations and the external urban environment which impinges on the schools. It is not uncommon to hear of city junior and senior high schools that must chain and padlock school exits to keep out drug dealers and community criminal elements. Such security precautions, though necessary, produce a siege-like atmosphere and could have disastrous results in a fire emergency. Probably most aggravating for the urban principals are the Federal, State and local regulations designed to assist and/or protect the rights of the poor and minority students.

Urban school populations are increasingly poor and minority:

. The percentage of AFDC students in the 28 Great City Schools has increased by an average of 10.3% between 1970-75. In Chicago, Detroit and Washington, D.C. the percentage more than doubled (Council of Great City Schools, 1977, Table 5).

.The concentration of minority students in public schools is rising (Council of Great City Schools, 1979):

SAMPLE OF ENROLLMENT CHANGE IN LARGE CITY SCHOOL SYSTEMS

	% Whites	% Minorities
Atlanta		
1968	38.2	61.8
1978	9.8	90.2
Boston		
1968	68.4	31.5
1978	38.6	61.4
Chicago		
1968	37.6	62.3
1978	21.5	78.5
Los Angeles		
1968	53.6	46.3
1978	29.6	70.4

.25% of the children in the 28 major cities of the Council of Great City Schools come from non-English speaking families (Council of Great City Schools, 1979, p. 7);

.The percentage of black students attending minority isolated schools (90-100% minority) has increased between 1970-1976, in the Northeast and remains high throughout the country. The proportion of Hispanics attending minority isolated schools has also risen (NCES, 1979, p. 58).

	Blacks attending 90-100% minority isolated schools		Hispanics attending 90-100% minority isolated schools	
	1970	1976	1970	1976
Continental U.S.	46.9	39.5	30.2	32.6
Northeast	53.6	59.1	50.8	53.9
Border States/D.C.	64.3	52.2	3.2	5.9
South	34.3	23.4	36.7	35.5
Midwest	66.0	59.4	11.2	23.7
West	51.2	43.9	16.0	19.4

(NCES, 1979, p. 57)

The widely debated "flight" of whites, or white "flutter", from urban centers, whatever its extent, has hurt inner city schools. Families that do stay are, unfortunately, turning with greater regularity to non-public schools. Given the public perception that city schools are bad, it is not surprising that students, black and white, who can afford it are leaving the schools, weakening them even more. Private schools are not only drawing away middle-class students, they are also getting the attention of legislators who listen to middle class voters - witness the scramble to introduce tuition tax credit proposals. Educational vouchers such as California's Family Choice in Education proposal also stand to help non-public schools compete for limited resources. Voters who do not send their children to public schools will be more reluctant to support higher school budgets or bond issues.

The effects of minority isolated urban schooling on educational achievement are not clear. Proponents of desegregation point to the findings of Katz, Kenneth Clark and others that reveal significant and negative impacts on both blacks and whites of segregated education. On the other hand, a growing number of minority leaders proclaim a need for excellent education in all schools regardless of the race or ethnic background of the student population. Many note that desegregation efforts which place children in hostile school environments may have questionable educational benefits. Tensions and racist perceptions about the behavior of minority teenagers are probably behind the disproportionately high minority suspension rates in many desegregating inner city schools.

The 1977 Annual Evaluation Report on Programs Administered by USOE shows minimal initial impact of ESAA Programs on actual student achievement (Annual Evaluation Report, USOE, 1977, p.162-163). So would leading educators such as Clark who assert that "segregation leads to academic retardation of black children and moral retardation and moral schizophrenia in white children" (Education Daily, May, 1978).

The knowledge that urban schools are increasingly minority isolated is alarming in light of achievement score comparisons.

DIFFERENCES FROM NATIONAL MEANS SCORES IN
LEARNING AREAS, BY AGE AND RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP: AGE 17

	Reading		Career & Occupational Development		Science		Math	
	1974-75		1973-74		1972-73		1972-73	
	(a)	(b)		(b)		(b)		(b)
Black	-16.44	(.74)	-15.96	(.89)	-10.32	(.61)	-19.83	(.60)
White	2.78	(.22)	2.19	(.19)	2.13	(.20)	3.63	(.32)
Hispanic	-11.42	(1.54)	-7.65	(2.08)	-11.08	(1.08)	-14.36	(1.02)

NOTE: All differences from the national mean scores are significant at the .05 level.

(a) Percentage point differences from mean achivement score.
(b) Standard error of the difference (NCES, 1978, p. 94).

The causes of urban secondary schooling problems remain uncertain. However, if student achievement scores are used as the criterion for success, these schools are failing. National studies by the National Center for Education Statistics, Decima Research, Stanford Research Institute and others reveal that (USOE Policy Memorandum, 1978):

.Students from low-income families in large cities have substantially lower achievement than do students from low-income families in smaller cities and non-urban areas. This finding appears both in the percentage of children who have low achievement and in the mean scores of individual students;

.as a school's level of poverty increases, the level of educational need increases disproportionately. At poverty levels above 20% in inner-city schools, there is a marked rise in incidence of low-achievement; and

.socio-economic composition of a school is a factor in achievement. Low achievement is related to the level of poverty of a student's schoolmates.

Controversy exists over test bias and accuracy in measuring achievement of minorities and poor students. The proliferation of minimum competency requirements has threatening implications for urban and minority students and schools. Tests that are racially or culturally biased or just plain too hard for poorly educated kids may leave students who have faithfully finished school with nothing to show for their labors. Especially unfair are the hastily erected minimum competency systems that do not give current juniors and seniors time to catch up. A Federal judge in Florida agreed after reviewing graduation requirements that failed 20% of blacks and 2% of white (Newsweek, July, 1979). The minimum competency furor has also made teachers, principals and even entire schools targets for blame and disparagement. To threaten the self-respect and/or job security of educators struggling against considerable odds with urban student populations is surely counterproductive. Dedicated professionals will give up on inner city schools, choosing instead the relative security of suburban systems. To put entire schools on probation if they cannot get 85% of their seniors to pass minimum competency tests (or if they surpass a 5% dropout rate or 10% truancy rate), as New York State's Regents voted to do, is unfair to urban secondary schools. Beyond that, the focus on minimum instead of maximum competency can only damage the total educational program, as teachers scramble to drill test skills into students.

Unfortunately, the reality is that many postsecondary and job training options are based on just such test outcomes. We do not suggest that high unemployment rates for minority teenagers are solely a result of poor scores. More likely, schooling failures and lack of jobs are symptomatic of larger societal failures with respect to minority and urban youth.

However, educaton is an important factor for future employment. Rand Corporation researchers recently concluded that education accounted for 47% of the rise in earnings for black men and 33% of the increase for black women (Education Daily, May, 1978). Studies by the National Science Foundation link progress toward wage equity with white workers to improvement of the quality of black education.

School dropout rates, while declining nationally, remain high in urban areas. Additionally, while the dropout rates have been falling for minorities, they are still disproportionate in comparison to whites.

Persons Not Enrolled in School and Not High School Graduates, by Age, Racial/Ethnic Group, and Sex: 1967-77

	1976	1977
White male	13.2	13.9
White female	13.3	12.8
Black male	21.2	19.4
Black female	19.7	20.0
Hispanic male	30.2	31.5
Hispanic female	32.3	34.2

(NCES, 1979, p. 184)

Correlations between adult educational attainment and employment status, income level, job satisfaction, voter participation, civic activities and educational attainment of children point strongly to the need to reduce minority dropout rates.

ADOLESCENT FACTORS

The concern over dropouts and youth unemployability has risen dramatically over the last five years. It is true that the baby boom cohort is now peaking and has flooded the job market.

Unfortunately for the big cities of our country - slack employment cycles hit the relatively unskilled, the minorities and the young first. Businesses cannot afford to give youth summer jobs, especially in declining cities where the poor and minority youth who need work the most reside. Government figures show a black teenage (16-19) unemployment rate of 37 percent for 1978 - this in spite of large scale Federal jobs programs for youth. Critics have averred that the government count is way off - estimating that anywhere from 60% nationally to 80% and more in some cities are more accurate figures for black youth without fulltime, regular work (Baltimore Sun, 1979).

It is unfair to blame the schools for the unemployment situation. [illegible] majority of jobless black youth are high school graduates and many have attended college according to the Urban League report. The report also states that white high school dropouts have lower unemployment rates than black youth with some college education. It becomes clear that racism and demographics play a larger role than education - a larger role than most Americans want to admit.

The depressing realities of the job market are no secret to inner city youth. They know that the promise extended to other high school students of "a good job and a bright future" may not apply to them. It is not surprising that they tend to lose interest in educational offerings - even those of the most creative and dedicated teachers.

They are likely to turn instead to the street - and increasingly, to anti-social behavior as documented by the following statistics:

Suicide - the second largest killer of youth between 15-19 years old; the rates for young men have more than doubled in the past 10 years (Bureau of the Census, 1978, p. 76);

Teenage pregnancy - births to unmarried teens are up nearly 400% from 1960; 1 out of every 10 seventeen-year old women is a mother; 90% of unwed mothers keep their children; (Statistical Abstract, 1978, p. 65). Teenage pregnancy is the single highest known cause of female student dropout (Boyer Speech, 1979).

Delinquency - one out of nine young people will face a juvenile court before age 18; (Spillane, working paper, 1979) 77,000 young people are currently incarcerated in juvenile detention centers (Bureau of the Census, 1978, p. 196);

Drug and alcohol abuse - rising in both urban and rural settings; opiate abuse remains higher in urban areas (McIntosh, et al, 1979, p.135); and

Runaways - HEW estimates that 773,000 teens, most between the ages of 15-17, run away each year because of problems with families and schools (DHEW, 1979).

Many attribute these symptoms to rapid societal change over the past twenty years - particularly in the family.

.1/4 of American children have experienced some family disruption through death, desertion or, more often, divorce (NCES, 1979, p. 3);

.The number of single parent families has increased for both white and minority families over the past seven years. For minorities the percentage remains considerably higher and is rising more rapidly (NCES, 1979, p. 3).

% of Single Parent Families as a
Total of Family Population

	1970	1976
White	11.4	13.2
Minority	30.2	37.1

.The percentage of white children living with both parents has dropped from 92% in 1960 to 85% in 1977; the percentage of black children living with both parents has dropped from approximately 66% to less than 50% in 1977 (NCES, 1979, p. 3).

The effects of the one parent family on educational attainment are not easily measured. Yet, 63% of parents in a recent CBS poll felt single parenthood had a negative impact on education while 3% viewed it as positive (NCES, 1979, p. 3). Surveys of working mothers are significant.

.53% of children 6 to 17 years old live with mothers who are in the labor force (NCES, 1979, p. 3).

.46% of parents felt that mothers who work had a negative effect on their children's education; of working mothers only 12% felt their work had positive effects (NCES, 1979, p. 17).

Adolescent problems are in no way limited to large cities. However, teen-associated problems are more severe there.

.Teenage gangs are reported as serious problems more than twice as frequently by urban residents than by those living outside metropolitan areas. In urban areas with high concentrations of poor and unemployed residents gangs were reported as severe problems more than three times as often as for residents outside of metropolitan areas (HUD, 1978, pp258-259).

.Secondary school violence has reached alarming levels in large cities. Witness the intent of Congress in passing the new Safe Schools Legislation; when funded, it will target support to urban school systems.

.82% of urban secondary schools reported one or more offences to police in 1975. This compares to a 61% figure for non-metropolitan secondary schools (NCES, 1978, p. 90).

.Five times more weapons offenses and four times more assaults were reported in central city secondary schools as in non-metropolitan secondary schools (NCES, 1978, p. 90).

.Junior high schools report the highest percentage of violence per grade level (NCES, 1978, p. 90).

.40% of robberies and 36% of assaults on urban students occur in schools although only 25% of their day is spent in school. For 12-15 year olds the figures are 68% of robberies and 50% of assaults (Diaz, 1979).

In spite of these often debilitating inner city conditions, disturbing urban school environments and negative peer pressures, the majority of urban youth continue to attend school. The majority are not discipline problems. The majority want to learn and to be able to work. A 1979 poll of students from across the country conducted by the Gallup organization and the Kettering Foundation showed that the majority wanted more work; non-whites polled higher than the average on this question (Proctor, 1979). 88% of those polled would participate in volunteer work for course credits. A study of the educational plans of high school seniors reveals a remarkable similarity in the percentage of students who hope to attend college among blacks, whites and Hispanic high school seniors: 49.5% of blacks; 49.4% of whites; and 47.8% of Hispanics (Proctor, 1979). That such aspirations exist among urban high school seniors is testimony to the resilience of urban youth.

FEDERAL AND STATE AID FACTORS

The data we have listed amount to a litany calling for Federal and State support of urban secondary school reform. Currently, services do reach the dropout population, the young drug addicts and alcholics, and juvenile criminals whose incarceration and remediation can cost up to $70,000 per year. Perhaps more deserving are the students who continue to struggle against the odds and who continue to hope for a chance. Getting Federal and State support for urban secondary schools is difficult; getting it to these youngsters has proven to be nearly impossible. A recent Congressional Budget Office (CBC) analysis (memorandum prepared for Senate Human Resources Committee, June 24, 1979), found that poor high school students get little federal help compared to low income college students and others. Even with new Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) programs that help these teenagers, economically disadvantaged college students get nine times more federal aid than do high school dropouts, potential dropouts and high school graduates who do not continue their education. According to CBO, needy high school students get an average of $163. per pupil, dropouts get $267 per person compared to $1,900 per college enrollee. Urban educators were disappointed in the President's Urban Policy initiatives because education was not a fundamental element of the proposals. They focused on economic incentives housing and development, jobs and transportation systems.

The public education system has to be an integral part of any urban revitalization efforts. More money and more jobs will eventually help the schools - but only indirectly. Two common and constant concerns are (1) excessive red tape; and (2) misuse of funds. Public school administrators are not alone in citing federal red tape as their number one aggravation. The hospital directors in Maryland reckon that they are governed by 108 public agencies (Washington Post, 1979). American business claims that federal regulation has cost approximately $100 billion in FY 1979 - $5 billion to operate the regulatory agencies (Weidenbaum, 1979). To what avail? - query other social critics who argue that the federal funds still do not reach their intended targets. Urban development money often ends up being spent in rich census tracts or extravagant commerical "renaissance" projects, because the rich know how to get richer better than the poor do.

Of course, the same problems arise in federal educational aid. Many major educational funding efforts have tended to benefit non-urban school districts disproportionately. The percentage of federal funds reaching a city is not as high as the city's percentage of its State's total enrollment; and more to the point, it is not nearly as high as its percentage of the State's poverty impacted students, except in the case of ESEA, Title I (EPRI, 1979, p. iv).

There are many reasons for these seeming inequities. State and national legislatures have been dominated by rural and suburban interests. The processes which select U.S. Congressmen and by which Congress conducts its business have historically acted to strengthen these areas of society at the expense of urban areas which have provided the bulk of federal tax revenues.

It took more than the Supreme Court decision in 1954, Brown vs Kansas to make federal and State involvement in urban public education a reality. the concerted efforts of two Presidents finally swayed Congress. The Kennedy - Johnson years produced the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, designed to aid poor and minority Americans, many of whom resided in cities. It marked recognition of the inequities inherent in our system and singled out education as a key to breaking the cycle of poverty. The major goal of the legislation was to ensure equal educational opportunity. Even then, it was not direct urban education legislation, but aid that could provide Federal dollars for educational coffers in every Congressional district.

In analyzing current legislation and seeking advice from Congressional committee staffers, we have found that Federal educational law is much broader than most educators realize. The committee staff members explained that urban concerns have to be given "sub-rosa" treatment in order to be translated into law. Federal and State program officers, however, can easily neglect such a "hidden agenda"; they have a tradition of doing so. The early superiority of urban schools over those in rural areas frequently resulted in relatively less financial aid for cities. Thus cities escaped State intervention for a time, while State education agencies became distinctly non-urban in orientation. The same ex-rural administrators, who became State agency staffers may now be serving in the federal education division. They bring their biases with them, a reason for the lack of program interaction with inner city schools.

Even if there is no bias, there is lack of expertise and awareness about urban secondary school conditions. A survey of federal educational bureaucrats would almost certainly demonstrate a paucity of inner city school experience.

The large city school district "escape" from intervention has thus proven to be a doubled-edged sword. In this time of financial need, the heretofore impenetrable urban school bureaucracy's traditional disrespect for unsophisticated State education agency staffers may alienate major sources of funding. The States administer most federal programs in addition to their own. Proposition 13 style tax revolts can only add to the State's power over educational finance. State - urban relations obviously vary across the country. Some States have urban education units; others cannot seem to develop a working relationship with their independent-minded city counterparts. Federal administrators often find themselves in the position of alienating one or the other. By going through the States, they inspire the ire of urban leaders who decry the loss of precious funds to State administrative costs. If they work directly with the cities, the States complain that they are intervening improperly in a State prerogative and undermining State educational agency strength.

One noteworthy example of direct federal intervention was the Central Cities Task Force of 1968 with a budget of $18 million. Disappointed by the meager results in urban areas of federal innovation efforts administered by the States under ESEA, Title III, the Federal government funded 24 system-wide big city projects for three years at an average cost of $250,000 per year. Even though impact studies were made and the results were reasonably good, the projects were not continued because the cities were unable to support them on local revenues alone. A major problem was in coordination of all relevant federal, State and local agencies. Sustaining cooperation became impossible as leadership personalities and priorities changed. An equally ill-fated Urban/Rural Schools Program succumbed to similar problems in the early 1970s.

The 1970 report of the HEW Urban Task Force chaired by Wilson Riles proffered an eloquent and explicit challenge to correct the situation. Unfortunately, it recommended an infusion of $7 billion and a bureau to oversee Federal intervention on behalf of urban schools. These recommendations and others sufficiently riled a Presidential administration already disinclined towards generous support of education. The Riles Report was buried unequivocally.

Intermittent initiatives on behalf of urban education occur with limited visible effect. Regular reauthorizations of ESEA do reflect some changes that could be attributed to these and other efforts. The new concentration grants in Title I will clearly help urban districts. Yet, again, with the Urban High Reform Initiative changing leadership personalities and priorities mitigate potential impacts. The two areas of prime concern to this initiative, principal training and urban secondary schools, may still suffer from inadequate federal support.

ESEA, Title I is a model of legislation designed to help the most needy students many of whom are urban. Early intervention theories of intellectual development combined with the management convenience of self-contained elementary school classrooms justify targeting funds to grade schools. A hesitancy to extend limited compensatory dollars to secondary schools is understandable. Elementary gains have only recently shown up. Shifting funds would possibly weaken now successful programs.

Moreover, information on effective secondary school practice is lacking. Little is known about skill development for adolescent learners - especially in multicultural, urban populations. Appropriate structures for learning - ones that foster independent thought and personal initiative while maintaining the mandated in loco parentis control over 'street-wise' teenagers - are uncertain. Disagreement on goals for secondary education weaken attempts to legislate education/work/social welfare packages for older children. Secondary school schedules are not amenable to the "pullout" requirements of categorical aid, nor do adolescent learners benefit from the peer stereotyping often accompanying compensatory programs.

The federal programs that do reach secondary schools are mixed blessings. While ostensibly easing financial problems, red tape associated with federal and State assistance adds immeasurable organizational snarls.

School Finance: Recent school finance litigation that recognizes "municipal overburden" factors suggests long range benefits for urban systems; however, the short-range impact of uncertain financing is negative. Substantial organizational shifts required to accommodate desegregation, bilingual and handicapped education, affirmative action and other compensatory programs require long-term financial planning improbable in the current context of school finance. The result: special programs and staff and student assignments that change yearly, or more often, as funds wax and wane.

The high costs in organizational time are matched by those of actual dollar outlays. Education dollars do not go as far in urban districts as they do in others. This fact has been well-documented (USOE Policy Memorandum, 1976).

.Teacher salaries, which account for more than 60% of school costs, are 23% higher in urban areas than the national average.

.Total educational costs in large cities are higher than in other areas of the same State.

.In 14 of 18 States with major urban centers, the cities' tax base is lower than the Statewide average.

Funding formulas, for basic education as well as compensatory programs, are not adjusted for urban districts with disproportionately high costs (USOE Policy Memorandum, 1978):

.Formulas which provide a fixed sum for each child in poverty do not compensate for the higher costs of schools with large concentrations of poor students;

.Nor do they help other children in the schools whose education is shortchanged to defray the higher costs of educating poor children;

.Per pupil expenditures adjusted at the State level do not adequately compensate urban areas with tax bases lower than the State average; and

.Funding formulas based on average daily attendance penalize districts with high absenteeism. Urban districts generally have lower ADA attendance rates than the States' average. ADA in New York's five largest cities was about 84% in contrast to a 93.8% figure for the rest of the State.

Consequently, ADA funding shortchanges urban districts in three ways:

1) School districts spend money on students whether or not they attend - on teachers, facilities and materials.

2) Absenteeism adds costs for tracking and counseling truants.

3) Absenteeism is traceable to poverty and its associated conditions including higher incidence of illness among children from impoverished homes; lack of warm clothing in cold months; pupils kept at home for child care; lack of parental encouragement to attend school; impaired mental and emotional health; lack of success in school (Dionne, Jr., 1979).

The national elementary and secondary education budget approached $100 billion in 1976 (Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance, 1979, p. 4). But, inflation, declining enrollments, burgeoning basic costs for energy and staff salaries, public unwillingness to support school bond issues and taxpayer revolts have all combined to put an almost intolerable squeeze on school budgets. Particularly hard hit are school districts with inadequate tax bases. The ratio between per pupil costs in rich and poor districts is as high as 4.5-to-1, in large part because the rich districts have 4 times more property wealth behind each pupil (New York Times, 1978). That means that some districts can afford to spend more the $4,000 on each student's schooling, while others do not even have $1,000 to try to do the same job. Urban districts tend to fall somewhere in between, but higher expenditures per pupil barely cover the higher costs of living in urban areas. Thus, poor urban and rural school districts are banding together to sue States for not guaranteeing what is increasingly seen as a State constitutional right - a free and equal public education. Although twenty-two States have initiated some form of compensation for these inequities, so far, they have not done the job accordingly to Rand Corporation researchers Stephen Caroll and Rolla Park (Sinclair, 1979).

The States and, perhaps, the Federal government have to do more to make sure that poor school districts can afford to provide quality education. More financial support means more federal and State intervention and regulation - a heavy price for the urban school district.

Red Tape: Urban administrators name the proliferation of paperwork requirements as their number one problem. Although they recognize the importance of thorough monitoring and reporting, they object to the duplicative and often conflicting nature of current red-tape requirements.

It would seem that the complaint registered with legislators in light of the paperwork reduction language in the reauthorization of ESEA. Whether the intent will translate to actual simplification and standardization of forms, deadlines and regulations remains to be seen.

Red tape has become a disincentive to those seeking small discretionary grants. The grants can be essential for a balanced education in schools with multicultural student populations. The disincentives are so great that school systems that can afford to do so - Pocatello, Idaho, for example - are choosing to discontinue federal programs.

Ironically, the "guarding" of public rights and public dollars, the source of red tape, effectively bars the intended recipients from the intended benefits. Oversight is not inherently bad. That it is not simplified and standardized is.

Research: Two research-related problems add to the inadequacy of urban secondary schooling:

- .research on urban and adolescent education is lacking; and

.existing research findings do not reach the practitioners most directly involved in implementing needed changes.

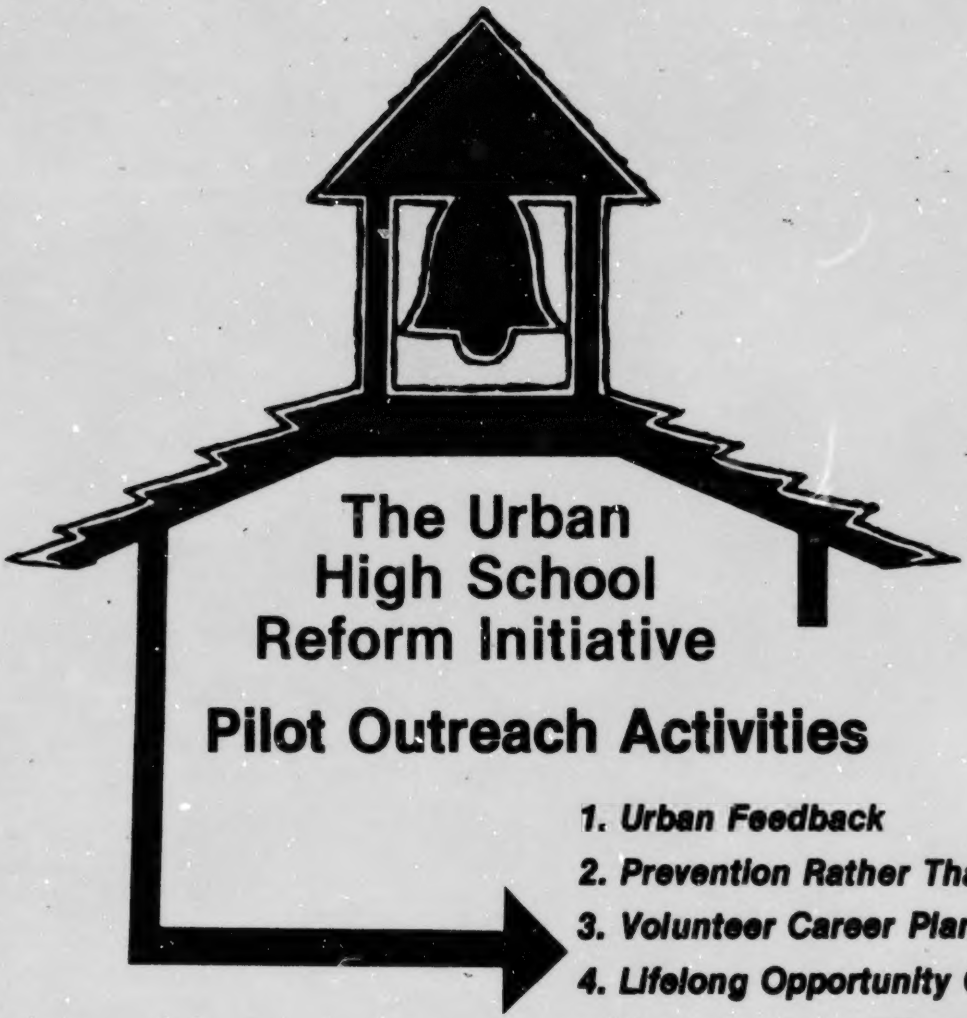
The first point is not surprising. The influx of federal dollars to elementary schools dictated a need for research emphasis on primary schooling and students. Only recently have the crises of junior and senior high schools - glaring skill deficiences, school crime and violence, escalating dropout rates, unemployability, etc. - warranted cries for more secondary oriented studies.

The need for urban education research parallels demographic shifts. Metropolitan centers are left with increasingly poor, multicultural and/or minority-isolated students and school programs designed primarily for white, middle-class students.

The locus of research efforts at the national and regional levels - with funds generally flowing from Federal and foundation sources to university recipients and reports, back from universities - by-passes practitioner networks and school site research needs. Indicative is the availability of ERIC CLearinghouse for Urban Education (CUE) and other data sources in university and federal libraries. They are absent in school libraries, where research reference files for practitioners are most needed.

Nor do school site educators have systematic access to Request for Proposal (RFP) channels. Consequently, school site-specific research, crucial to the planning and evaluation needs of large urban secondary schools, goes unfunded. Lack of grantwriting skill at the school site level adds to this problem, as do complex proposal applications and funding policies that ignore school year time frames.

In sum, better ways of financing and governing urban secondary education must exist. Chapter Three will explore recommendations from urban educational experts and practitioners.



The Urban High School Reform Initiative

Pilot Outreach Activities

1. *Urban Feedback*
2. *Prevention Rather Than Remediation*
3. *Volunteer Career Planning Network*
4. *Lifelong Opportunity Center*
5. *Urban Secondary Exemplary Programs*
6. *Legislation To Extend Urban Secondary School Reform*

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

ERIC/CUE

Chapter Two: PILOT OUTREACH ACTIVITIES

The Commissioner, in forming the New Directions in Education Initiatives, hoped to spawn a Federal capacity for leadership and innovation. They were established as cross-bureau teams in order to broaden the perspective of traditionally "turf" oriented program specialists. Each of the teams embarked upon different means of addressing their tasks.

The Urban High School Reform Initiative's original assignment from the Commissioner was to identify and/or develop innovative projects, particularly flexible administrative arrangements both responsive to the needs of urban youth and generative of school/community links. A steering committee of USOE leaders interested in the problems of inner city high schools started brainstorming sessions on this topic in the fall of 1977. It soon agreed that it would seek ways to "extend" the traditional urban high school by building outreach networks to the home, the world of work and other community institutions. The intent of these experimental "outreach" or pilot activities was to mitigate some of the pressures that make it hard for the schools to fulfill their primary mission of teaching youngsters how to read, write and reason.

To that end, five pilot outreach activities were developed. The initial approaches used in accomplishing the tasks can best be described in five phases: analysis of specific conditions; drawing upon special expertise for advice; selection of sites to test ideas; execution and evaluation of pilot endeavors; and, given successes, preparation for future expansion. Each pilot was designed to address the broad problems of access and outreach as well as specific conditions, such as high counselor/student ratios. Efforts to give urban youth access to the information, expert counsel and incentives available through community contacts were emphasized.

The ambitious original objectives of the pilots met varying degrees of success. Inconsistent leadership support and questions about the availability of second year funds blunted or seriously curtailed the activities.

Some of the pilot activities are being institutionalized while others taught participants some important lessons about intervention and innovation in urban secondary education - some of the same lessons that the Department of Labor is netting as it begins to review its far more ambitious and expensive youth employment and training demonstration projects.

A brief description of the five pilot outreach activities follows. Comprehensive descriptions and evaluations of each effort prepared by the team co-leaders who headed them appear in Appendix C.

#1 Urban Feedback

Objectives: The "Urban Feedback" workgroup had as its primary objective the development of forums for USOE, State Education Agency (SEA) and local school district program officers, practitioners and urban experts.

Background: The motivation for establishing such communication loops came out of the recognition that many federal and State bureaucrats have minimal awareness about and sensitivity to the severe problems besetting urban secondary schools. Career program officers may not have had the occasion to be in an urban high school in ten years or more. Many, having risen through professional experiences in rural and suburban school systems, may never have seen one at all.

Design: The forums were designed to literally raise awareness. They brought together people who know city schools, and federal and State people who need to know more in order to better direct their programs to unserved and underserved urban secondary school students. The size and structure of the meetings were to vary, but their nature was to be participatory. Exchanges of views, or feedback, is crucial. Outside experts and practitioners were to bring position papers on urban high school issues in exchange for Federal assessments of the potential impact of Federal programs on the schools. Reports of the meetings were to be compiled.

Events: An urban high school administration conference was held in Atlanta, Georgia in 1978. It was co-sponsored by the Georgia SEA and the Urban Feedback workgroup. One seminar was held in Washington, D.C. last spring, and another is scheduled for later this year.

Outcomes: Copies of conference and seminar reports are attached in Appendix C. It was hoped that the forums could be held on a more regular basis under the joint aegis of the States and an Urban Education unit in USOE. Budget cutbacks prevented that from becoming a reality, although an urban education responsibility has been established in the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE), the Division of State Educational Assistance Programs, part of the Office of State and Local Education Programs.

#2 Prevention Rather Than Remediation

Objective: The "Prevention Rather than Remediation" workgroup focused on preventing disruptive behavior from surfacing in urban secondary schools.

Background: The problems of school crime and violence and alcohol and drug abuse have reached crisis proportions in many urban secondary schools. The only recourse after incidents occur is expensive remediation efforts that tend to neglect the root causes of anti-social behavior among adolescents. A fundamental tenet of developmental psychology is early intervention that responds to potential problems before they surface. Ironically, the Federal Alcohol and Drug Abuse Education Program (ADAEP), which has had an urban secondary focus, was asked to turn its attention to elementary schools. The program attempts to improve the school environment and, in turn, student self-concept by sensitizing school personnel including the students. Some experts on school crime and violence prevention rely on various security techniques to reduce incidents. The ADAEP approach addresses the causes, not just the manifestations.

Design: Originally, the workgroup agreed to explore both methods. A proposed contract for the identification and development of innovative and/or exemplary school security techniques was submitted but never received funding.

ADAEP's five Regional Training and Resource Centers which had already trained urban secondary school clusters were asked to nominate urban districts interested in extending the program to the elementary level. After an analysis of the developmental needs of urban children was completed, a training model for elementary school clusters of parents, teachers, counselors and administrators was developed.

Events: ADAEP conducted a training session for Training Center staff and representatives of the school districts of Kansas City, Mo.; Seattle; Little Rock; Chicago; Baltimore; Dallas and Memphis in September, 1978. The Regional Centers were then equipped to proceed with the training of more elementary school clusters in pyramidal fashion.

Outcomes: An extensive, detailed report of the genesis, conceptualization, implementation plans and individual school district outcomes including laudatory local press coverage of the initiative is presented in Appendix C. Of the seven original school districts only Little Rock dropped out due to a change of superintendent. Eight new districts have been added up until this writing (July, 1979) for a total of fourteen. At least three more districts will begin activities in September, 1979. The new districts include: Buffalo; Rochester, N.Y.; Charleston, S.C.; Atlanta; Raleigh, N.C.; Nashville; Savannah;

Broward Co. (Ft. Lauderdale); Issaquah, Wash.; Tacoma; San Antonio; and Fort Worth. Activities are going on in 138 elementary schools affecting 21,000 urban youngsters. 794 educational personnel have been trained. There is a good deal of interest in other school districts served by the Regional Training Centers and/or aware of the ADAEP on a national basis. A second year of funding would have amplified the benefits considerably. The networking impetus inherent in the ADAEP design is well-suited to both local school/community development and national diffusion. In any event, the impact thus far represents a significant return on an investment of $17,000.

#3 Volunteer Career Planning Networks

Background: Career planning advice is provided to high school students in two basic forms: through a guidance counselor or other formal career counseling effort; and/or through informal interaction with close adults in families, neighborhoods and work settings. Urban youth are lucky if they get any helpful advice in spite of the rich occupational opportunities and expertise available in cities. Student/counselor ratios of 700/1 are not uncommon in inner city high schools. In New York City the ratio is 942/1. Existing career resource centers provide fragmented services to limited populations. Additionally, urban adolescents may not be exposed to the same variety and quality of adult professional role models that other youth find in their families and neighborhoods. To make matters worse, urban teenagers are suffering extraordinarily high unemployment rates, particularly minority youth.

Career education can provide an impetus for breaking the cycle of poverty. Without exposure to careers, inner city students face non-challenging jobs, inadequate salaries, and a frustrating future - wasteful of human ability. Overburdened school counseling staffs clearly cannot meet the students' needs - the initiative's hope was to fill that gap with the rich human resources of metropolitan communities.

Design: In close concert with the National School Volunteer Program (NSVP), a private non-profit organization, leadership from USOE experts developed the concept of creating networks of community volunteers to give individualized career advice to urban students. The initiative called upon approximately fifty of the largest urban district superintendents to describe their current volunteer efforts and to indicate their degree of interest in the VCPN idea.

Events: As the concept took hold, NSVP, under its contract, called a series of planning seminars involving the Urban High School Reform Initiative, the National Institute of Education, the Cities in Schools project of the White House, the Council of Great City Schools, the National Manpower Institute, the National Chamber of Commerce, the National Alliance of Business, the Institute for Educational Leadership, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, the American Personnel and Guidance Associaton and others. Participants helped refine the project and aided in selection of cities as pilot implementation sites. The following fourteen cities were invited to the initial conference on the basis of existing strengths and demonstrated interest: Baltimore, Boston, Dallas, Detroit, Los Angeles, Miami, Minneapolis, New York City, Philadelphia, Portland, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Seattle, and St. Louis.

Washington, D.C. and Worcester, Mass. sent observers. The Volunteer Career Planning Conference was held in September, 1978. Three to five participants from each city represented their school districts, school volunteer organizations, and local business groups in a two-day work session. The major issues and prerequisites for establishing effective networks were identified and generalizable action steps and responsibilities were delineated.

One purchase order was let to the School Volunteers for Boston (SVB) who have piloted the effort in that city. Budget cuts foreclosed further issuance of Federal seed money, but most of the city teams have reported that they have undertaken to implement conference findings in their respective cities.

Outcomes: Initial responses from the cities queried revealed a wide breadth of volunteer and career planning activities. Most cities have district-wide school volunteer programs which work with guidance and career education staffs in the secondary schools. However, volunteers were generally not trained to counsel students on a one-to-one basis. The NSVP and SVB contracts required products that would serve as manuals or "cook-books" for designing and instituting local volunteer career planning networks. Therefore, the two final reports from NSVP and SVB which appear in Appendix C will be very useful to large city school districts interested in capitalizing on existing volunteer resources for career education purposes. The design should actually be substitutable for other educational purposes such as tutoring.

The entire process also gave considerable publicity to the concept of school volunteerism, especially in the participating cities.

#4 Lifelong Opportunity Centers

Objective: The purpose of the Lifelong Opportunity Center Project was to provide integrated social services and occupational and educational information to an entire urban community.

Background: The workgroup sought to combine a commitment to revitalizing urban secondary schools with a perception that federal, State and other educational and social service information was poorly coordinated, especially in urban centers. Disparate programs have targeted discrete portions of the urban population from young adults - who may be dropouts, drug addicts, alcoholics, handicapped, bilingual, pregnant, single mothers, veterans and or delinquent - to senior citizens - who may be handicapped, poor retired, bilingual and/or heads of poverty households. The services are available to limited groups in decentralized locations. USOE alone provides assistance through Talent Search programs, Upward Bound projects, Educational Opportunity Centers, Educational Information Centers, Bilingual Centers, Veterans Assistance programs, Handicapped Centers, etc. The Community Schools concept is designed to coordinate social service delivery in single neighborhood locations, especially schools; but is has not had much success with urban high schools. The new Cities in Schools programs and the Baltimore Blueprint are similar in scope and design.

Design: The Federal government, a private foundation, community social service agencies and a local school system joined together in an attempt at urban revitilization. This was to occur through the development of an information system that would provide high school students, adult learners and community residents with data on educational and job opportunities in St. Louis. The information system was to be reinforced by counseling and referral services provided jointly by the school system and by local civic organizations. Coordination would be accomplished through the Offices of the Mayor and School Superintendent.

Events: Initial meetings with workgroup leaders from USOE and NIE, the Danforth Foundation, representatives of the St. Louis school system, officials from the Mayor's office and community organization members brought about consensus on the pilot's objectives. The projected outcomes of these activities were agreed upon. A contract was awarded to the St. Louis school district in the fall of 1978.

During the 1978-1979 school semester, St. Louis was engaged in a severe teachers' strike. Much of the district's personnel was directed to deal with the labor/management issues involved in this problem. Others were enlisted to keep major district programs - Title I, ESAA - functioning smoothly. Little time or attention was devoted to discretionary programs of a developmental, rather than operational, nature. Consequently, timelines of the project could not be met by the St. Louis School District. Based on a mutual decision among OE, Danforth and the St. Louis School Board, the contract for the project was withdrawn and the funds were returned in full to the U.S. Treasury.

Outcomes: A monograph has been produced that describes the intended purposes and potential impact of a project that links the Federal government, a private foundation, a local school district and private civic foundations in urban high school reform. This monograph was jointly authored by OE and the Danforth Foundation. It appears in Appendix C and will be distributed under separate cover by the Danforth Foundation. The report provides for federal program officers and others some insights into the potential pitfalls involved in small discretionary projects that emphasize local capacity building. The project design, which is also fully described, still holds considerable promise for possible implementation in St. Louis or another urban school district. The need for high school revitalization and integrated social services delivery continues to exist.

#5 Exemplary Program Adoptions for Urban Secondary Education

Objective: The goal of the Exemplary Programs workgroup was to identify and share exemplary educational models suitable for urban high school adoption, particularly in the areas of youth employability and flexible administrative structures.

Background: The federal government has taken a leadership role in the collection and dissemination of information about innovative and exemplary educational programs. The concept of sharing educational success has been undergirded by federal funding especially in ESEA, Title IV-C and in federal programs such as the National Diffusion Network (NDN). Title IV-C payments to States have helped establish intrastate "Identification Validation and Dissemination" (IVDs) networks. NDN takes many of the Title IV-C developed and validated model programs after they have been reviewed by the Federal Joint Dissemination Review Panel (JDRP). Unfortunately, the State IVDs and the NDN do not have a good adoption rate in urban secondary schools due to an inadequate array of suitable programs, network unfamiliarity with urban secondary schools, and complex and/or resistant urban high school bureaucracies. Knowing that these schools needed innovative exemplary practices and that the new Youth Employment Demonstration Project Act (YEDPA) would be pouring money into many urban school districts - the workgroup set to meet the challenge.

Design: Identification of suitable models in NDN's Educational Programs That Work and of external programs not yet submitted to the JDRP would be the first step. Next steps would include special urban dissemination sessions and the introduction of incentives for network activity in urban secondary schools.

Events: The group evaluated the full array of NDN's nearly 200 approved programs and found that approximately one-third could be adapted for urban secondary use. A list of those that have potential for YEDPA-LEA agreements was distributed by the Department of Labor to urban prime sponsors, the local CETA/YEDPA coordinators. A review of State IVD lists was also made and another twenty programs were identified. The full lists were made available to network personnel participating in urban secondary school dissemination seminars held in August, 1978, at the National Dissemination Forum and in February, 1979, during special sessions at the National NDN Conference. The full lists are available in Appendix C.

Workgroup members reviewed other intriguing programs across the country. The Reverend Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH/EXCEL; the Threshold Learning Center for disaffected youth in Rochester, New York; Project FOCUS: HOPE, a desegregation faciliation program in Detroit; and others were examined. Team members became heavily involved in the PUSH/

EXCEL Conference of May, 1978. A contract with the Association of School Business Officials (ASBO) provided an inventory of validated school business practices. The National Alternative Schools Project (NASP) provided some assistance, but budget reductions cancelled a proposal for further work on the development of evaluation criteria for urban secondary alternative schools.

Seven small purchase orders were let to the network leaders, State Facilitators (SFs) for the States of California, the District of Columbia, Illinois, Missouri, New Jersey, New York and Ohio. They were asked to help develop strategies for improving urban secondary adoptions and to promote adoptions in conjunction with PUSH/EXCEL; CETA/YEDPA work-related adoptions and other flexible urban secondary school programs.

Outcomes: They SFs far exceeded the minimum of three (3) adoptions required in their one year contracts. Not all of the states have submitted final reports. California reported nine (9) secondary school adoptions in Los Angeles and San Francisco and extensive "spade work" in urban districts across the State. The District of Columbia SF, although hampered by red tape, a prolonged teacher strike and CETA prime sponsor apathy, had a good year claiming impacts on many elementary and secondary students. Ohio reported a 550 percent increase in urban adoptions affecting some 26,000 secondary school students. The Illinois SF had considerable success, particularly in Chicago. A year of improving her urban strategies led to twenty (20) adoptions and the training of 462 educational personnel. 3 adoptions were in PUSH/EXCEL schools. The New York SF had great success with PUSH/EXCEL Schools in Buffalo and Rochester with six (6) adoptions affecting some 1700 students. Program adoptions incident to YEDPA/LEA agreements spread in Rochester and New York City, impacting on over 3200 students in fourteen (14) high schools. Other NDN adoptions in Buffalo and New York impacted on 2,250 secondary school students. Much of the success in New York seems attributable to excellent working relationships with State Title IV-C leadership. For small investments of $6,000, these efforts constitute a capital success. In fact, the NDN managers have, on their own, extended the purchase orders for another year. An additional outcome is a report on strategies for improving urban secondary adoptions being synthesized by the workgroup as part of their final report (in Appendix C). It, too, will be distributed as a valuable resource to State IVD leadership.

#6 Legislation to Extend Urban Secondary School Reform

Objective: The Urban High School Reform Initiative had as its original, prime goal the development of federal legislation for urban secondary education.

Background: The lack of focused urban secondary educational policy in USOE stems from a complex array of factors discussed in the Introduction to this report, in Chapter IV Federal Policy Recommendations and in the introduction to the legislative analysis, Federal Educational Law and Urban Secondary School Reform (Appendies A and B). There is no need to repeat the account. The gap in services was perceived by the Commissioner at the commencement of our activities and chronicled by the staff throughout. It should be noted that the initiative had an uneven start - changing titles, tasks, and leadership with some frequency. Called "Flexibility in Education", Learning Environments" and at one point bifurcating into "The Dropout" and "The School" with different team leaders; it finally settled on the "Extended Urban High School Reform Initiative." It still endured several turns and twists in direction before settling on the course described herein.

Design: The Urban High School Reform Initiative Staff consisted of a Chairman, Deputy Commissioner advisor, and an Executive Secretary, essentially the only full-time person. Later, an assistant was secured. With the goal of proposing legislation in mind from its inception, this staff undertook the survey of urban high school conditions, the assessment of USOE program impacts and coordination of the experimental outreach activities.

Events: The Phase I report marked completion of the internal portion of the work. With it was introduced a draft legislative proposal. Next steps included conducting the series of regional Urban High School Reform Conferences to get advice from local practitioners and experts on what federal legislation should do. Also in the operating plan was a proposed contract for the analysis and design of intervention strategies that would be politically, economically and educationally appropriate to particular local high schools. A small team of high calibre experts from economics, education, sociology, urban planning, psychology and public policy was to initiate work in New York State in FY 1978 with the full support of the New York Council of School District Administrators. Six other States were to undertake the effort in FY 1979, all with the anticipated endorsement of the Chief State School Officers. Budget tie-ups and other administrative complications foreclosed this potentially significant work.

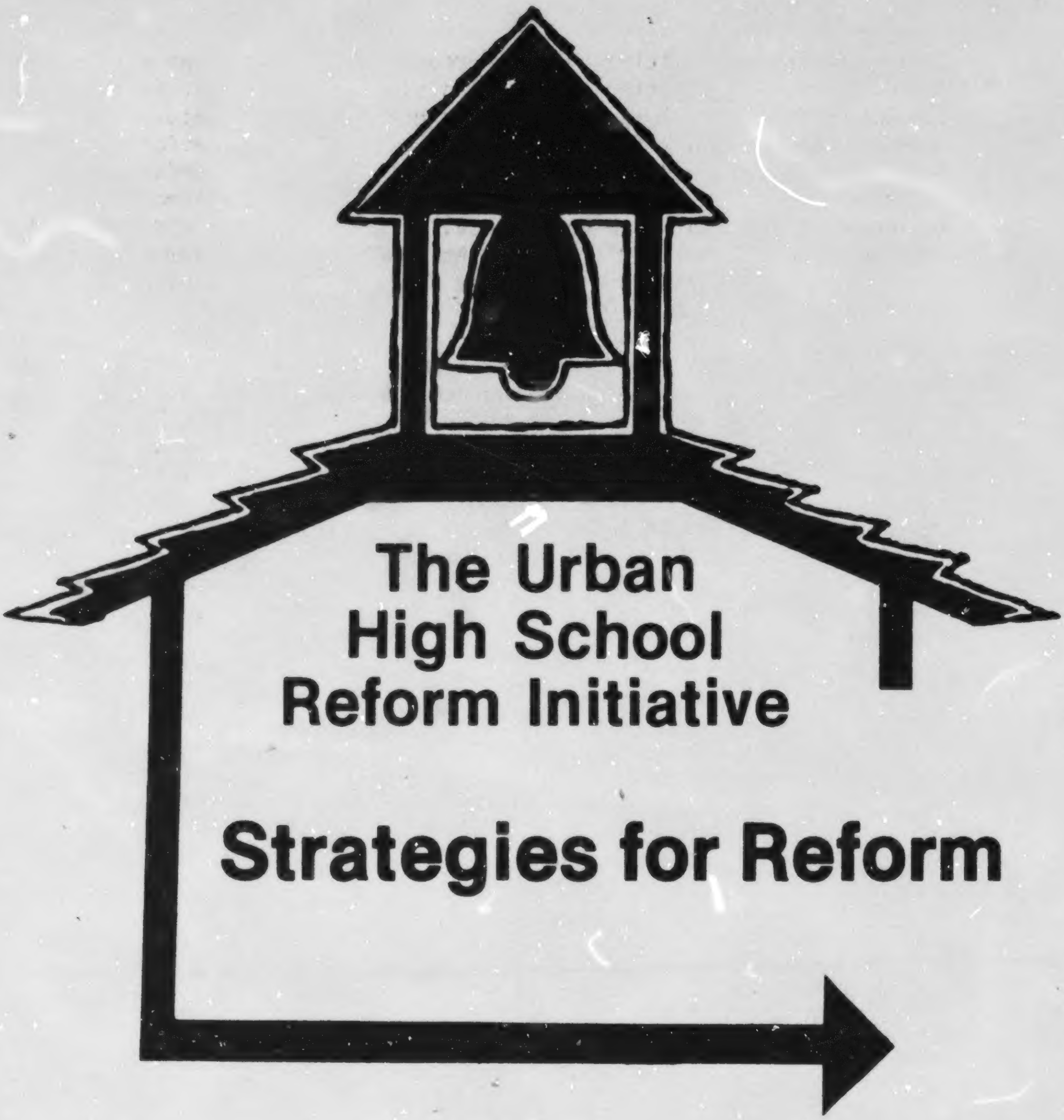
The legislative proposal, "Technical Resources for Urban Secondary Transition (TRUST)," was tabled by USOE leadership. The imminent reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA-P.L. 95-561) and the budget cutback stir created by Propositon 13 reduced the likelihood of new urban educational legislation being passed in the near future.

This prompted the Initiative to regroup. The conferences were refocused onto how existing federal legislation could best serve urban secondary schools. This explains the genesis of the detailed legislative analysis and accounts for the federal policy recommendations in Chapter Four. Staff provided discussion guides for the two rounds of ten regional meetings held in Hartford; New York City; Baltimore; Atlanta; Columbus, Ohio; San Antonio; Wichita; Denver; Oakland; and Portland, Oregon. Federal Urban High School Reform Initiative team members were sent as observers and resources for the local school district conference coordinators.

The reform recommendations were distilled from an overwhelming array of detailed ideas generated by the nearly 1,000 conference participants and others. The conferees represented: 24 of America's 25 largest cities; 47 other principal cities and 25 other municipal school districts. Teachers, counselors, principals and central office administrators comprised the bulk of local representatives. Students, parents, 15 superintendents and 18 school board members rounded out public school participation. 8 private school systems, 55 institutions of higher education and 41 national educational organizations were represented. 44 States, 2 territories and the District of Columbia were represented, including personnel from 24 State Education Agencies, 3 State superintendents and 7 State Board of Education members. Many representatives of both the private and public sectors responded to invitations. 16 city, 8 State and 12 Federal agencies sent staff. Several State legislators and staff members and 4 U.S. Congressional staffers also participated. 24 businesses and 53 community organizations, including many affiliates of national organizations joined the sessions as well. We hope that we have been able to convey the significant contributions of all of these urban high school constituencies.

Outcomes: A compilation of the ten regional reports was completed in short order by the staff for use in the second round of meetings. A synthesis of the second set of regional reports was also distributed to all participants. The PRIMER (Preliminary Report on Instruction, Management, Environment and Research) For Urban High School Reform, the Urban High School Reform Report of Regional Conference II and all twenty regional reports appear in Appendix C.

Other outcomes include journal articles and everything else you are now reading. All of the Urban High School Reform Initiative reports will be entered into the ERIC file of the Center for Urban Education (CUE) at Columbia University in New York City.



The Urban High School Reform Initiative

Strategies for Reform

September 1979

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

ERIC/CUE

CHAPTER THREE: STRATEGIES FOR REFORM

"Bury them at twelve and dig them up at twenty." That's what parents of children approaching the teenage years used to be told according to Judge Mary Kohler, who recently spoke to the Children's Advisory Panel of the International Year of the Child. Now, much to her alarm, "future shock seems to have decreased burial age to nine and postponed unearthing until twenty-four!"

We do not, in the United States, seem to like adolescence. Teens are troublesome, cheeky, and too, too bright for our comfort. Recent history has taught us that adolescents have an explosive capacity to disagree with adult society. Their penchant for feckless risk seems not to have changed since Aristole's lament. And their passions are notorious.

"Bravo!," say others, and we agree. The vitality, enthusiasm, concern and dedication forged in teenage years may very well be the sustenance of adulthood.

We do not know for sure, of course. It does make sense, we think, to nourish those passions, buffer with good-will the early risks mis-taken, and seed the striving for responsibility in teens with real tasks and actual consequences to be faced. Our society certainly could use a few more active, caring citizens. Teenagers may just be the source. But first, we have to welcome them back into our 'fold' of citizenship.

For too long youth have been held at bay - contained within a teenage subculture that is systematically isolated from the adult world. Stereotyping is one of our most effective means of setting teens apart, and they are thoroughly stereotyped. Virtually any citizen beyond or below adolescence would identify a teenager as one who wears jeans, is slightly unruly and unkempt, listens to loud music, eats hamburgers or goes completely meatless, drives cars fast, sleeps late, smokes dope, dislikes his or her parents and siblings, and has exclusively teenage friends. None of this is new news. Adults, parents and teachers in particular, will acknowledge the similarities between their teenagers and this stereotype.

Yet, those who take the time to know young adults realize the teenage cliche is seriously misleading. As individuals they are varied in interests talents and concerns. Most enjoy all kinds of people in all age ranges when given a chance to interact with them - an infrequent occurance in a society that has evolved a teenage economy and social structure geared to the setting apart of adolescents. Youth can also be highly creative, resourceful and responsible - another fact our society tends to forget until a war jogs our memory. Then, teens are lauded as saviors and recognized as the vital human resource that, in fact, they were all along.

This isolation, many will claim, is rooted in economics. Teenagers are an increasingly idle market with time, money and mobility to shop and seek out amusements. Music, TV, magazines, films, clothing and sport stores, and food chains are among the long list of businesses geared to the presumed special tastes of teenagers. Jobs for youth are generally limited to low-pay service industry employment between the hours of 3 pm to midnight - mostly part-time. The economy, in fact, could not in its present state accomodate a fully employed youth population. Society makes money by keeping adolescents in a group apart.

The separation is particularly troublesome in relation to the minority and poor youth experience. The economic substructure and teenage stereotype are built upon a middle class, majority adolescent profile. Teens who do not conform to the stereotype and who do not have money or access to those "special" products and services are doubly invisible. Their age separates them from the adult world of the larger society - middle class and white. Their minority or poor status in the teenage subculture excludes them from the prototypical adolescent experience. This pattern of separation often continues into adulthood. They remain a group apart.

Schools, some sociologists and educators would assert, mitigate this double jeopardy of the minority and poor teenager. Educational experience can bridge economics, culture and race, preserving the integrity of the differences while ensuring for each adolescent a variety of adult life choices.

Can, perhaps, but in their present state, do not, others would rejoin. Schools, particularly urban ones with high concentrations of poor and minority students, are currently structured to control and to limit. They are notorious perpetrators of protracted childhood. These educational conditions are antithetical to the adult life responsibilities for which adolescents are purportedly prepared. Ironically, recent research in England seems to disprove earlier studies by Jencks, et al, that schooling per se has no effect on students. Rather, if Rutter's studies (1979) of secondary school climates are confirmed, environments in which students have genuine responsibilities over school curriculum and governance have significant and positive effects on adolescent learning. These findings replicate many smaller studies of alternative programs in which student responsibilities are greatly expanded. They tell us that achievement, self-esteem and sense of control over his or her environment improve markedly.

Theory on brain growth stages further indicts current school structures. Research reveals that during the first sixteen years of life the human brain alternates stages of growth with developmental plateaus. Curriculum theorists question schools' ability to maximize learning during times of growth and point out the futility of attempts to cram new concepts into a child during plateau stages (Toepfer, 1979). They also tie drop-out rates to schools' failure to recognize these stages.

It makes good sense in light of these data, for secondary school structures to change. Parents, students, teachers, school administrators, local university, business and community representatives in this country's largest cities agree on this. Urban adolescents are not being educated for a viable adulthood. Cities as well as the larger society, are now paying a high price for the ineffectiveness of their secondary schools. Growing numbers of adults have graduated underskilled and unemployable in our highly technological society. Many dropped out before graduation and lack even the minimal credentials for adult employment. Commenters relate the spate of bankrobberies, violent crimes and heroin use in large cities to the frustration of unemployed or underemployed citizens confronted by a society which equates affluence with personal worth. Shut off from accepted avenues for improving their lives, they act out their hopelessness through violence and crime or escape it with drugs. Their communities are left with an incalculable loss of human potential and exorbitant social costs. Nor are those costs likely to be short-run.

Definitive correlations between educational attainment and employment status of family heads and future achievement and employment of children (Condition of Education, pp.2-9) portend a spiraling cycle of wasted talent and stunted opportunity. The children of these people generally model lives similar to those of their parents.

We do not suggest that schools alone can break this cycle. Clearly larger issues of class, race, sex and economics intrude on the life chances of even the best schooled child. However, schooling can help, and it must. As Dr. Bernard Watson, a noted urbanologist, warns, the confluence of an increasingly technological employment market and abysmally poor urban secondary schooling threatens to create, for the first time in our history, a permanent underclass of undereducated, unemployable citizens (Watson, 1978, p.13). The poor and minority urban students who in good faith attend inferior schools may be relegated to that underclass if their education is not improved.

The waste is particularly opprobrious when one considers the wide range of remedies currently available. Several practical low-cost improvements could be put into effect immediately. In fact, some of the people most optimistic about the potential for change are those very students most in jeopardy. Testimony to their resilience is the belief of teens that reform can occur in their schools. Many teachers, too, know of specific changes in school structure, curricula, teacher training or use of community resources that could dramatically improve the educational experience for urban adolescents. Parents want to help in the reforms. Principals, charged with setting a tone of excellence in schools, recognize that major educational changes are overdue. Media has helped to step up the demand for improved schooling by reporting the appalling skill and career deficiences of urban youth. In short, the time for reform of inner city junior and senior high schools has come.

A variety of constitutent groups with the most to gain from the success of urban secondary schooling have come to general agreement on five broad themes which could ensure excellence. Most importantly, they all want to share responsibility for bring about reform.

These themes are:

- Shared Decision Making
- Diverse Learning Environments
- School-Community Development
- School Finance and Red Tape
- Research and Dissemination

The following chapters outline in more detail the nature of the needed modifications. In general, the recommended reforms are school-based - that is, planned and put into effect by those with the greatest stake in their success: the principal, teachers, counselors, parents, students and communities served by the local school.

District, State and federal help must accompany local reform. The focus of their help, however, must be to empower individual school communities to design school-specific blueprints for change. Participation of all sectors of the educational community can lead to shared governance for urban secondary school reform.

Three criteria are to be met before attempting the reforms:

- The climate of the community must be conducive to reform.

  Attempts to legislate change from the State and federal levels are notoriously ineffective if the community itself is not ready. "Ready" does not have to mean that citizens are actively pushing for reforms.

- Local community leadership must initiate reform.

  Ideally, leadership will come from the school system itself, but it also may be found within community organizations or municipal government. Crucial is the existence somewhere at the city level of individuals or groups willing to promote reforms or innovations.

- Careful planning for orderly change must be built into any reform strategy or innovation.

  Lead time to think through the potential impacts of proposed changes on students, local schools and school communities will minimize start-up problems. Plans designed by local constituents, with expert advice when needed, take time but are central for building a sense of local ownership and a stake in their success.

The themes emphasize a carefully orchestrated process by which any reform is to take place. Over the years educational reformers have learned much about the politics of change in urban schools. It is from these past lessons that the emphases on process stems. Too many good ideas fail for lack of careful - political - planning. All constituent groups are included in the planning and review of proposed reforms.

We do not intend to underestimate the federal role. Certainly, the extra funds and the psychic impact of federal support on State and local school boards could make a significant difference. However, the front line of reform is, and must remain, in the local school. It is there that student are 'buried' for precious hours in the belief that they are learning important skills for adulthood. We decry this waste of talent. We who make up that adult society must unearth those teenagers.

1. SHARED DECISION MAKING

Sharing the power to make decisions is the key to urban secondary school reform. Many will note the paradox. Power is usually taken, not shared, and the fact of sharing diminishes the power. That is just the point.

The current 'top-down' policy structures centralize decision making in the offices of a few top administrators with a direct line to the school board. Local practitioners, students, parents and taxpayers have limited access to those people - or rather, through them - to the power that shapes school policies. These powerless people, however, are the one who generally pay when policies run amuck. They pay in human costs as well as dollars. The prices are high. Students are short-changed. Teachers grapple with deep-seated educational problems in workplaces fraught with tension and violence. Principals are blamed for policies they did not make and enforce contracts they do not negotiate. Parents watch tax dollars pay for schools that do not teach their kids. A growing number of childless taxpayers view their money as wasted.

It is not surprising that people who care about urban secondary schools and efficient use of limited public money want reforms. One frequently called for is broader representation on decision making bodies in local schools and districts. People want a say in what happens in the schools that they pay for, work in and count on to teach teenagers.

This idea of shared governance holds considerable sway among federal and State policy makers, as well. The proliferation of mandated district and school site advisory committees is testimony to the idea's currency. Witness, for example Parent Advisory Councils, Desegregation Assistance Centers, and the bilingual and special education advisory groups common to most large city schools. School improvement and school-community councils thrive in Salt Lake City and are legislated in California and Florida. They operate in Portland and other major cities, are included in New York City's School Self Renewal Program and are in planning stages in districts across the country. Advocates champion participatory decision making as a means of restoring accountability to those most affected by outcomes.

We agree. Parents, students, teachers and representatives of local school communities must be equal partners in the processes that set decisions for their schools. Giving a rubber stamp to decisions made by school boards or principals is not enough. Constituents must carry the authority to target or withhold funds - not just to advise.

School boards, superintendents and principals will argue that legal accountability precludes sharing such authority. True, laws do hold educational leaders legally responsible for policy decisions. These leaders should understand, however, that final policies are most effective when people responsible for putting them into practice feel ownership in the decision process. Committees and councils, who in legal terms advise, could have *de facto* authority regardless of the *de jure* definition of responsibilities. The bottom line would be a majority vote from a representative group. The outcome would be supported by the educational leaders legally responsible for carrying out the policies. We think this kind of shared decision making power makes good sense.

We also know from experiences of school-community councils across the country that it is not easy to do well. School and district wide councils can fragment policy, disillusion constituents by raising false expectations about the actual scope of their authority, and further impede management of complex secondary schools. Consequently, our definition of shared decision making includes specific recommendations on the organizational level at which decisions are to be made and about the composition of the representative group that is to share policy making authority.

The level is problematic. Decisions are, of course, made everywhere all the time. Students and parents have some choices. Teachers, principals and communities do, too. But basically the degree of significance denotes the locus of the decision. Right now, important decisions are made at the top. The less significant the issue the easier it is to win the right to make it. Students decide on the prom theme and principals decide what courses ought to be taught. Administrators welcome PTA help in planning food concessions for sport activities but spurn parent offers to plan the sports' budget. School staff and principals are excluded, too, from shaping local school policies. In fact, the people closest to the actual educational program generally have the least say about what matters in their schools. This policy process - dictum from above - should be inverted.

District level decision-making robs school site leaders of the authority to set policies appropriate to the unique needs of individual schools. Needs and goals aggragated at the district level ignore the special characteristics, traditions, and expectations of distinct school communities. Particularly in large city school systems, such centralization is ineffective as people far removed from the decision-making process often subvert or ignore policies. Decisions that directly affect school programs should be made at the school site.

A. School-Site Councils

People involved in making local school decisions should be representatives of the key constituent groups: students, parents, teachers, the principal and appropriate community organizations. We call this group a school-site council. The specific mechanisms by which the councils operate will vary from district to district as localities differ in the degree of need and interest in sharing decision-making responsibilities.

There are, however, some common elements of an effective power-sharing process. First, the parameters of authority and responsibility of any shared decision-making body must be spelled out and officially supported by the school board. A carefully worded district-wide charter, adopted before the process is put in effect, should clarify just what is or is not within the purview of shared governance councils. A written policy will help to protect the legitimacy of shared responsibilities in the face of turnover in board membership and district administration. It should also authorize a systematic information exchange and monitoring process between and among councils and the school board. Such an exchange would assure that both the board and school-site constituents share a common base of information on issues that surface during the school year.

Another particularly crucial consideration is the issue of representativeness (Rosaler, 1979). Among councils in effect today, this remains one of the lingering questions. It is very difficult in large multicultural schools to build council participation that truly represents the school community's diverse groups. This is particularly true for the parent and student delegates.

Parent participation has traditionally come from a small group of concerned middle class families whose employment and family structure freed at least one, usually the mother, to attend to the schooling affairs of the children. These are the parents who generally respond to overtures for parent help. Often their lifestyles and values are similar to those of the teachers and principal. This parent group, obviously, will be represented. They have already established a precedent for school involvement. Many other parents have not. Work responsibiiities, lack of carfare or child care, and limited English speaking ability often preclude participation. These problems are not insurmountable. Translators, transportation expenses, planned meeting times and so forth can help. So, too, would a mutli-lingual, school-based information network that would publicize site council decisions and act as a forum for discussion of school issues.

More problematic to representative participation are the attitudes of a significant number of urban parents toward education. Some hold schools and teachers in complete trust, believe that they themselves, could in no way help esteemed educational professionals, and would not consider imposing on a decision-making council. Others recall their own schooling negatively or with feelings of inefficancy. They are disinclined to revisit places that were unpleasant or intimidating. The concerns and hopes of these parents are often excluded when representatives are chosen in a school-wide parent election. Nor do they generally seek out council representatives. Additionally, the extraordinary circumstances of desegregation demand sensitive, sensible strategies to include parent representatives located outside the immediate school community, but with legitimate interest in site council affairs. An effective parent representative would be one committed to seeking broad parental input and bringing to the council special concerns of particular parent subgroups. Problems of student selection for the council parallel those of parents. However, the fact of student 'captivity' within the school for several hours a day does afford a committed representative chances to garner input from more reticent students.

Teachers, with few exceptions, are represented by union members. Problems of representativeness for them center on the need for school building concerns and staff issues to supersede the district, regional or State union "line." Local school staff sometimes differ with the union stand on discrete issues at the school site level. It is the ability to speak for the views of their immediate constituents that would define a representative teacher delegate.

The question of election vs. selection for shared decision-making councils is also problematic. Elections often choose the most popular, not necessarily the most representative delegates. Several school council participants, who have grappled with this issue previously, suggest a combined selection/election process. A selection committee representative of diverse groups would be appointed to identify viable candidates to run for election. The one requirement for participation on this preliminary selection group would be prior agreement not to seek a council position. ESEA Title I Parent Advisory Committee experiences in working with parents not normally active in school affairs could be instructive for selection committees. Certainly shared decision-making councils in urban schools are too new for predictions on a "best" process to bring together truly representative delegates. Discussions of the issue in council planning stages would seem to help identify groups whose ideas may not otherwise have been sought.

Another prerequisite for any decision-making group is training for all members. The councils will inevitably draw together people of markedly different experiences in working in groups. If all are to have genuinely equal membership rights, they need a common understanding of the rules of participation. Process skills for coming to decisions and resolving conflicts, evaluation techniques, budgeting and school law are a few of the crucial training areas for council participants. Training capacity must be on-going, so that new members receive comparable preparation.

Continuity in membership and incentives to sustain active participation are other issues to be addressed in planning. Stability of membership throughout the school year would seem to allow a consistency in decisions important for the efficient day-to-day operation of schools. Some continuity of membership year to year would help prevent the problem of "rebuilding the wheel" each September.

Our discussion of prerequisites for school site councils is not intended to discourage adoption. We feel strongly that broader participation in educational decision making is crucial for an effective school program. Consequently, potential startup problems must be distinguished from long-term efficiency.

Indicators already exist to support the benefits of school-site council shared decision making. We have cited Rutter who has substantiated the positive educational effects of giving responsibilities to secondary school students. The psychic rewards to teachers of having a say in decisions that affect their work environment have been documented by Lytle (1979, p. 9). Active parent and community interest in schools is consistently called for as a first step in reform. Principals who have worked with shared decision-making structures, while reluctant at first, frequently become strong advocates.

The shared governance format is not particularly new. The principal site council team is very similar to that of the school board superintendent. The site governance model simply empowers local level constituents to help set directions for their schools. District administration would resume a traditional support role to the local schools. We reiterate: people who pay for, work in and count on local schools should have a say in decisions that shape educational policies. School-site councils are a model that can help this happen.

Specifically, the site council would:

. Conduct a site-specific needs assessment and set site goals.

The assessment would encompass program design, staffing and facility use based on immediate needs and projected neighborhood changes. The accumulation of such data gives important long-range planning capability to the district as a whole as well as to school level planners. Urban schools could have special advantage here since most are located near colleges or universities stocked with students interested in internships and research projects. A site council-university link could be beneficial in two ways: universities add options for their students; and schools get needed technical assistance.

- Design and implement a site-specific educational program and a staff development plan.

  District-wide dictums for curriculum, scheduling and staffing patterns dilute the potential richness of programs geared to the special resources in each individual school. Similarly, district-wide staff development programs alone do not address the particular professional needs of staff subgroups in individual schools. School site councils have the advantage of matching site funds to site program and staff development objectives. Both of these are discussed further under the second theme for reform, "Diverse Learning Environments."

- Adopt an evaluation scheme for program, staff and students.

  A systematic accountability scheme which builds in criteria for success and procedures for evaluation and remedition will flag problem areas for immediate site council action. It provides a school-community stamp of approval for successes. Shared responsibility for monitoring schooling outcomes can mitigate claims of vindictive evaluation when remediation is needed. It also helps to return accountability for successes and failures to local schools. Evaluation is discussed more extensively under "Diverse Learning Environments."

- Publicize school events and successes.

  Communities often do not know of school activities. Neither do principals have time to launch public relations campaigns. School site councils, with links to community resources and discretionary funds for community involvement, can ensure that school issues and events are aired for public discussion. They can also plan more interactive school-community program. See "School-Community Developments."

- Monitor site management in light of council goals.

  Dynamic leadership is central to school success. Urban school management is increasingly complex. It is nearly impossible to do without help. The site council decision-making model could bolster principal leadership capacity. Council policy setting and management review could relieve pressures on the principal to resolve the preponderance of school controversies singlehandedly.

Some additional prerequisites for successful decision-making are:

-Union contracts that recognize the site council role within the chain of authority. Effective participation by school staff is only possible when contracts recognize the councils.

-The inclusion of other advisory committees within the school site council format. The piecemeal proliferation of federally and State mandated parent and community advisory councils can be a nightmare for urban principals. An overarching school site council, if legally viable, could make school site management much easier.

-Technical assistance to plan and start the site council operation. Startup takes money and time. Expert advisors should be available to help planners shape the council model.

-Ongoing funding and supports to sustain site council operation. Site council cost projections should include services for typing, outreach, systematic reporting of council decisions, newsletters, meetings and other communication mechanisms.

Clearly, the site council model requires some basic policy shifts. Initial problems are minimized by careful planning. We list here some questions that local planners might use as guides in making the crucial first stage plans.

-What goals of the school system can the councils fulfill?

-What is the scope of authority and responsibility regarding program, issues, staffing and budget allocation? What support and/or directions do sites get from the district?

-Who participates? What mechanisms assure representative participation? What incentives will sustain participation?

-How frequently do the councils meet?

-Who sets the agenda for meetings? Who chairs meetings?

-What is the decision-making process?

-Who makes final decisions on policy or on procedures?

-What is the process for resolving potential conflicts especially involving professional expertise, law or ethics?

-Who is accountable for site council decisions?

-What mechanisms communicate policy to the school board and school community?

-What criteria will measure site council success?

KEY ACTORS FOR SCHOOL-SITE COUNCILS

School Board/Superintendent: School boards must underwrite the concept. They must define the scope of authority and responsibility of the councils and direct administrators to carry out the plan. They must set aside funds for the entire process and overcome their reluctance to delegate authority to school sites.

Principal: The principal is pivotal. He/she must recognize that sharing authority is in the best interest of the school. He/she must develop leadership skills that foster participation and innovation. The utlimate success of the school-site model depends on the principal's willingness and ability to carry out council decisions.

School-Site Council Representatives - Teachers/Counselors, Students and Parents: Council members must seize the opportunity to exercise control over their school environment. They must press for real decision-making a authority over such crucial issues as curriculum, staffing and evaluation. They must speak accurately for the diverse needs of the people they represent. Students must demand full membership rights and responsibilities.

Federal Support for School Site Councils

Federal legislation does not mention the school site council concept. As a matter of fact, the various mandated advisory committees now in existence could compromise and even prevent the council from developing.

One relatively obscure section of the new ESEA actually contains the basic ingredients for a school site council; Title IV-C School Improvement (Sec. 432(b)(2)) - requires that a committee, similar in design to the one in the above conceptualization, approve all school management improvement projects (Sec. 431(a)(6)) funded under the Title. A section of the new Basic Skills legislation (Sec. 222(d)) describes an approval process for school level programs that is tantamount to school-site council authority over the educational program. It should be noted that the ill-fated urban/rural projects of the early 1970s had difficulty establishing school-community councils in some twenty-five districts across the country. Among the lessons to be learned from that experience is that local school district leadership must be willing to take the initiative in establishing community participation with "parity" or real authority. This is happening in some cities and can best be fostered at the federal level by non-directive support and assistance. Otherwise, federal legislation, especially ESEA 1978, contains many mandates for advisory committees and parent participation, both formal as in Title I and VI, and informal as in Career Education.

B. School Site Budgeting Discretion

Schools have to be able to put their money where their priorities are. Site discretion over their own budgets is essential to effective planning and management. Two ways of giving sites control over budget are: lump-sum budgeting and the provision of discretionary funds. Lump-sum budgeting allows tradeoffs in personnel, program and support service priorities to be made by the local school within the parameters of union contracts and district mandates. Discretionary funds, though more limited, still let sites choose priorities.

Certainly, budgeting decentralization can be difficult. Nonetheless, a growing number of States and school districts are experimenting with the concept. The following prerequisites accompany the site budgeting recommendation:

. Clear budget coordination and an accountability system for site/district budgeting.

School systems that have adopted site budgeting are instructive in pointing out processes by which district-aggragated funds can be distributed to individual schools. Suggested pupil/personnel ratios and funds for teacher units, ADA and student weighting formulas for general and categorical dollars are techniques that can be used to assign money to individual schools. In Florida, for example, a large percentage of school-site savings in energy and substitute teacher expenditures flows back to the schools. Additionally, district budgeting offices can continue to monitor site budgets, consult with schools on problem areas, project long-term budget needs and allocate yearly school-site funds.

Principals must have "sign-off" authority. Procedures are also needed for site level budget carry-overs, budget transfers and for funding services shared among schools, such as data processing or maintenance.

. Principals and district budgets officers trained in site budgeting.

The new skills required for site budgeting differ significantly from those of central office money management. Districts must provide information on federal and State discretionary grants to principals (and site councils.)

The site budgeting concept is new. It is also all about public money. Therefore, there are some questions that need to be considered before implementation, such as:

-Where do funds come from?
  . Are budgets consolidated at the district level?
  . Is there a difference if the flow of dollars changes?
  . What process allocates budgets to sites?

-What are federal, State and local impediments?

-What accountability system ensures efficient, effective site expenditures?

-How can districts maintain the economies of scale of central management of supplies and services while preserving maximum site discretion?

-What training is needed for principals and others involved in site budgeting?

KEY ACTORS FOR SCHOOL-SITE BUDGETING

State Education Agencies: SEAs must develop funding incentives that encourage districts to adopt decentralized budgeting models. Incentives could include multiple-year funding and discretionary grants for planning and implementation. A national source of funds for such experimentation might be found in ESEA Title IV-C. Other sources of discretionary funds for school sites especially those that encourage site savings, should be devised.

School Board/Central Office Administration: The school board must direct the central administration to implement a decentralized budgeting plan. District office personnel must acquire expertise in site budgeting techniques. In cooperation with the principals, they must develop budgeting formulas and monitoring systems. They also need to guarantee ongoing training and trouble-shooting for site budget managers.

Principal: Principals must seek training in site budgeting and computer-based decision sciences to prepare for the added responsibilities. They can help the site councils establish budget priorities and use funding flexibility creatively to upgrade the educational program.

Federal Support for School-Site Budgeting

Some of the same general federal legislative authorities under the discretionary programs cited for school-site councils could assist local experiments in school site budgeting. ESEA, Title III-A, the Commissioner's limited number of $25,000 discretionary grants and Title IV-C (Sec. 431(a)(6)) could support such innovative efforts to improve school level management.

SUMMARY: SHARED DECISION-MAKING

Decisions that directly affect school programs should be made at the school site. Representatives of school constituencies - students, parents, school staff and key community groups - must share site decision-making power to set school specific policies, tailor programs to school site needs and allocate school site budgets according to those priorities. Two low-cost strategies necessary for shared decision-making are:

- .School site council; and
- .School site budgeting

School Site Councils: To work effectively, these councils need:

- .Authority and responsibility clearly designated by school board policy;
- .Technical assistance for start up: to identify constituent groups and select/elect representatives; to train council members; and to aquaint school and community groups with site council purposes;
- .Members that are truly representative - and represent - the diverse concerns and expectations of their constituencies;
- .Principal commitment to sharing decision-making power;
- .Training for all council participants to develop group decision-making skills and knowledge of legal and educational issues salient to school site management; and
- .Mechanisms for ongoing operation - to implement and publicize council policies; to select members in such a way as to ensure continuity of participation; and to evaluate and adjust council format as needed.

Generally, urban school systems already employ central office administrators capable of giving needed technical assistance to individual schools. These support personnel could be detailed to individual schools to assist principals and other site council planners during the initial planning and implementation stages. Consequently, this strategy will cost very little. Schools, however, could benefit greatly.

School Site Budgeting: Principals need lump sum budgeting at the site level or substantial discretionary funds to guarantee that site priorities can be funded. To work effectively, the following criteria must be met:

- .school boards must adopt a school site budgeting model and develop a clear accountability system to monitor site allocation of funds;

- principals must have sign-off on site funds where appropriate; and
- principals and other site and district office budget managers need training in site budgeting.

Decentralization of district budgets to allow site flexibility and site trade-offs is being tried with success in many school systems. Educational leaders have learned that, in these times of decline, allowing school communities to make tough budget trade-offs makes good sense - for political as well as education reasons.

II. DIVERSE LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

Secondary schooling in cities is often boring and bad. Boring because teens know of a non-school world far more interesting and interactive than that of the classroom. Bad because - whatever the reasons - too many students graduate unable to read, write, or conduct even basic math transactions. They do not know how to vote or why and are frightfully uninformed and unrealistic about finding and keeping jobs.

If these assertions are true - and they are hard to deny since city teens are dropping out or cutting out in record numbers - secondary school should change. In fact, reforms have been tried with success. Many more failed or went untried. That is not surprising. School bureaucracies are solidly entrenched. Such institutions respond suspiciously and defensively to attempts to change.

It is very hard to alter comfortable patterns even when they are destructive. Yet, in the case of junior and senior high school education, those of us involved in it can no longer afford to trade competence for comfort. Over time, we have allowed too many young adults to go under-educated. They are now entirely too visible to be ignored or passed off as aberrants of an otherwise effective system. Change is long overdue.

If students continue to be compelled by law to be schooled long past the time when many would not choose to do so, they at least deserve learning environments that stimulate and challenge rather than deaden and discourage. That means schools must diversify and up-grade their educational programs and up-date the skills of the teachers and administrators who work there.

Some will label as frustrated 60s liberals those who call for more options as a way to improve secondary schooling. We should know, skeptics are quick to point out, that alternative schools were tried and failed - failed to last even when successful, and almost as often, failed to succeed. The Rand Corporation among others documents this. Alternative schooling has become a cliche, the argument goes, reflecting more a naivete about the educational realities of urban schools than an informed analysis of the essentials for adolescent learning.

The label may be partially accurate. Many currently working in schools were active in the educational reform efforts of the 60s; others formed opinions about how schools ought to operate during those years.

However, even if slightly applicable, this "old reformer" tag misrepresents the proposal to diversify secondary school programs as a 'conventional' alternative schools strategy. It is not, and to call it so does disservice to what we believe is a realistic appraisal of the potential for large scale reform in urban schools in a time of decline.

Awareness of the pitfalls of alternatives makes those who would reform the schools cautious about each suggested change. They hoped to avoid - or rectify - past mistakes. For example, two major requirements of the diversification theme are that options be built into the curriculum mainstream and that community-based and career preparation experiences be required for all graduates. Students who chose programs other than those of the traditional classroom variety were often stereotyped as drop-outs, hippies, druggies, slow-learners or, more euphemistically, "non-college bound," by parents, teachers and "academic" students remaining in classrooms.

Not surprisingly, such labels over time discouraged all but the most desperate or daring of students from trying out the interdisciplinary, individualized or experience-based options that alternative programs generally offered. Consequently, students did not clamor to attend. Educators were able to declare alternatives irrelevant to the real interests of teenagers and impractical in times of budget reduction.

Lack of student interest is only one of many reasons why the emphasis on alternatives waned. They were often victims of the good intentions of promoters who sold the idea to reluctant school boards as cheap, quick-fix remedies for lingering, systemic maladies. Boards discovered that secondary programs with flexibility, diversity and high quality are not cheap; nor do they solve all problems. When decline hit in full force, the more flexible work and study options that remained appendages to the regular classroom program were easily lopped off.

These cuts brought little protest from staff at the parent school who knew little about the special programs, were given few, if any, incentives to learn more, and generally rejected less conventional teaching modes. Even when confronted with positive results, teachers attributed success to the "special" nature of those "irregular" learners. They frowned on any but the strict lecture mode for the "serious" students. Parent school administrators, without release time to monitor the new additions but ultimately responsible for their success, pressed alternative school staff to coordinate administrative duties as well as teach. They were often angered when those duties ranked second in priority to the innovators. Parents, too, mistrusted programs that looked very different from ones in which they had learned.

Alternative teachers, originally enthusiastic, found themselves saddled with low budget programs which required new curricula, new modes of teaching, highly personalized counseling, extensive public relations and complex reporting systems. Spotlighted by a community whose expectations ranged from very high to very skeptical, and grappling with the special needs of their disenfranchised or low achieving students, staff worked too hard for long hours-for about three years - then left. (This burn-out syndrome became one of the few well-documented aspects of alternative schools). In sum, management hassles-or administrivia-slowly deteriorated parent school supports; stereotyping diminished student applications; high staff turnover prevented stabilization of alternative curricula; and decline hit knocking out first the easily identifiable - and, by then questionable - alternative extras.

The "60s liberals" now recommending diversification do not want to repeat past failures. They realize that the complexities of changing entrenched systems over-shadowed the real successes many alternatives experienced. But they know of successes.

They also have substantial indication that the typical classroom experience alone does a poor job of educating urban teens. The National Assessment continues to document secondary student deficiences in reading, writing and computational skills and in grasp of citizenship, consumer and career issues. Continuing high dropout rates and in-school incidences of violence further testify to the failure of current school structure. Moreover, students not at the extremes of an achievement or behavior continuum may be the least well served. They-the majority who do not act out and do not trust or understand existing work study or community-based options - are those same low scoring students handicapped in chances for post high school study and work. Yet, they do attend by law and in good faith. It is these students that reforms must reach first.

It is unconscionable that classroom study remains the primary, and often only, learning mode for urban adolescents. All need the variegated educational experiences that diversification would offer. Parents and teachers, in particular, feel that a balance of "real world" experiences with classroom theory is essential to prepare teenagers for adult work, citizenship and family responsibilities. They testify that student determination to study improves as teens develop a more sophisticated understanding of the correlation between education and later employment, community status and lifestyle choices. That understanding comes when work and study in the city environment of businesses, political offices, and social cultural and recreational resources are integral to the total educational program.

In short, a variety of learning experiences ought to be routine for all students, not relegated to the few who are either too smart or too incorrigible to be duped into classrooms five or six hours daily. Options should be fully funded and included in the curriculum mainstream. Teachers and administrators need to up-grade their professional skills to assure that change also brings improvement in educational quality.

We do not recommend "one best model" for reform. We do identify two common elements of good ones: local design or adaption and local control of implementation. Within those parameters, specific schedules, course content, staffing patterns, funding, attendance routines and behavioral norms will differ markedly as they are tailored to the needs of individual schools.

Adding options requires significant changes in two broad areas: program development and professional development.

A. Program Development

Educators must expand their notions of when, where and how urban education can best be carried out. We have identified 7 essential ingredients of an excellent, expanded program. They are flavored by the strengths of the urban educational environment: multi-cultural student populations; distinctive neighborhoods; concentrations of highly trained professionals; and a wealth of economic, social and cultural resources. The ingredients are:

1. Program Needs Assessment
2. Flexible Structures
3. Relevant Curricula
4. Integrated Counseling Services
5. Incentives for Students
6. Evaluation of Students
7. Evaluation of Programs

1. Program Needs Assessment

Consistent with the site council and site budgeting recommendation, program needs assessment emphasizes local school responsibility. The charge to districts is to empower school level constituents to draw up school-specific plans based on the needs and goals of those with the greatest stake in the outcomes. One district master plan cannot serve all schools - at least not well.

At each school, parents, students, professional staff and community representatives must talk with one another about just what it is they expect. This sounds simpler than it is, given the difficulties of finding representative spokespersons for each of those consituencies and the agonies of bringing any diverse group to agreement. It is messy and time consuming. Nevertheless, such a re-thinking of the educational needs of urban teenagers and of the school's role in meeting those needs must occur. Moreover, it must take place in a "needs without blame" atmosphere so that each group can be straightforward about problems without another faction feeling culpable.

Parents, students and community representatives have the responsibility to state their expectations of teacher and administrator performance as well as of student competencies. For too long these groups have been silent or criticize without suggesting ways to improve. On the other hand professional staff must be clear about what is realistic for parents to expect from the school. Teachers and administrators need to lead discussions of potential program reforms to address the needs identified. They must also help parents and community representatives understand how they can help in specific work and community-based study plans. This assessment should result in site level educational priorities and goals consistent with federal, State and local requirements.

Technical assistance for a sophisticated needs assessment and planning process is probably necessary. Urban schools have two advantages: large city school districts usually have central office staff capable of helping site planners; and urban universities have technical assistance capacity.

Federal Support for Program Needs Assessment

Legislative language pertaining to needs assessment and comprehensive program planning is infrequent. Education Committee staff members admitted that Congress is not favorably disposed to providing funds for planning. Only in ESEA Titles I (Sec. 133) and II (Sec. 222) are needs assessment and planning mandated at the school site level.

2. Flexible Structures

Secondary school structures as they now exist - rigid schedules, limited options, and restrictive attendance, certification and funding laws - stifle innovation, routinize the workplace of teachers and counselors and diminish the education of urban teens.

They are an anachronism, appropriate to the era in which they were born - the mid-1800's. A society in need of workers for a newly industrialized economy needed schools that prepared ethnically diverse immigrants for routine factory work. However, our current fast-paced technological lifestyle renders absurd our perverse fixation with 50 minute time blocks and the 8 a.m. - 3 p.m. school schedule. People - and students are people - do not always conceive of and carry out good ideas within tightly regulated, uniform and sequential parcels of time. Nor do they only have important thoughts while seated or only learn in large brick buildings. Addressing a 1978 National Conference on In-School Alternatives to Suspension, Representative Shirley Chisholm linked increasing school-based delinquency to the impersonal, institutional atmosphere of large, traditionally structured schools. Averring that the answer is not in better locks, fences and security systems, she argued for staff leadership training, parental involvement and alternative education that combines learning with working and counseling in more personalized settings. "Not every student can thrive in the traditional nine-to-three environment (Chisholm, 1978)." Hopefully, the school site planners will believe these assertions - blasphemous though they might be to scheduling offices, attendance monitors and brick layers.

Nor do teachers necessarily teach better in 50 minute chunks of time. In fact teacher experiences at the Parkway School, Philadelphia's nationally famous high school without walls, reveal that even those forcibly transferred into Parkway under a complicated set of political and legal circumstances wanted to remain after only five months at the school. These were teachers from traditional junior and senior high schools. They averaged over 16 years of experience with a range of from 8 to 33 years of teaching. The professional autonomy, closer relationships between teachers, students and parents, and chances to participate in important decision-making committees provided crucial psychic rewards unavailable in the more rigid structures of their former schools (Lytle, 1979). Many teachers, students and parents attest to the spillover benefits of an improved workplace for teachers on the quality of schooling for teens.

Clearly, strong arguments exist for making secondary schooling more flexible. The wide span of student learning patterns, interests and life-styles presupposes a balance of in-class instruction, experiential and community based learning, small group instruction and independent studies.

Current research on left-and right-brain learning strengthens the argument for more flexibility. Individuals differ in the ways that they most efficiently acquire information and skills. Schools must provide a broader range of learning experiences to accommodate those differences.

The currency of life-long learning options and the accessibility of student travel and volunteer work experiences buttress arguments for more flexibility. Community based options have multiple benefits: they avoid duplication of expensive science, art, theatre, sports, counseling and vocational facilities - a crucial plus to already over extended urban school budgets; citizens, private sector professionals, parents and other school volunteers can be more readily included in school programs, adding invaluable talent and ethnic, racial and age diversity. Flexible programs break down the isolation of adolescents from the larger community - an isolation that has often led to severe alienation and anomie among city teenagers. They can also make retirees feel more productive by contributing to the growth and understanding of future workers and voters.

The most frequently suggested ways to diversify programs include:

. Schools within schools can mitigate the negative effects of overly large institutions. They are a good way of providing special instruction for special needs and of personalizing educational experiences for urban adolescents. These programs are varied. For some students the school within school program is his or her entire schedule. For others it fills only part of the day.

- Magnet schools, the politics of local desegregation aside, challenge students wtih special interests and talents to excel. Many consider magnets to be one of the most promising educational innovations to appear on the scene in recent years.

- Schools without walls have been called the ultimate alternative. Because they use the community as the "classroom," the options they can provide are virtually unlimited.

- Career and community service internships for academic credit offer important 'real world' experiences to teenagers. They are especially important in urban areas where disadvantaged adolescents may have limited access to positive work and service opportunities.

- Mini-courses, independent studies and peer tutoring diversify the in-school program. The first two focus on special interests and needs of teenagers and can provide important rewards for both teachers and students. Peer and cross-age tutoring offer psychic and educational benefits for both the tutor and the tutee.

- Stop-out terms for work or travel recognize the need for more realistic adult life experiences for teenagers ready to test their self-reliance.

- Early entry into postsecondary schools - especially in colleges geared for such moves - is a necessary option for contemporary teenagers. Adolescents are maturing faster. This is also a logical next step in the increasingly popular self-paced learning program.

- University and/or business adopt-a-school programs bring supplemental services to schools. Students benefit from the increased access to career and educational experiences in the adopting institution.

- Skills centers, either in or outside the school, offer special instruction and self-paced learning for students of all ability levels.

Again, we call attention to the student stereotyping problem discussed previously. If diverse experiences are important for all, then opportunities to choose from among alternatives must be carefully balanced with incentives or requirements for students to try out several programs during junior and senior high school years. Otherwise, the same old tracking and labeling - vocationals, academics, greasers or whatever - will subvert even the best of flexible programs.

While no one mix of options is best, there are commonalities. Flexibility requires schools to revise traditional schedules, promotion processes and graduation requirements. First to change should be the schedule. Extended schools days avoid penalizing young adults whose work and family responsibilities prevent attendance during the typical 8 a.m. - 3 p.m. time period. Large varying amounts of time - three or four hour seminars and full-day, full-week of multiple-week intensive study periods - are necessary additions to those fifty minute classes and nine week terms. They allow students more indepth study time and more realistically parallel problem-solving experiences of the adult world. They also make off-school-site studies at local business, cultural, scientific and social service centers, more feasible. Teachers, in particular, commented on the difficulty of using those oft-touted community resources effectively within a class period. They also mention the inconvenience to their colleagues if students take off for part or all of a day under current program structures.

If the newly adopted flexible time frames and program choices are to work, they must be accompanied by non-time bound criteria for student advancement, such as individualized learning packets and school-set competency tests. Schools must identify alternatives to the A-F grading system. New standards could reward accomplishment, nurture successes and measure progress more realistically than time-in-class. Graduation requirements for work, social service and other experiential learning would underscore their importance in the intellectual, moral and social development of adolescents.

Permeating the recommendations for more flexible structures is a general frustration with compulsory attendance, certification laws and funding formulas. Attendance restrictions prevent students from stopping out to work or travel, proscribe important lessons in learning to assume responsibility and to manage free time, and limit employment options to after-school hours when competition for jobs is greatest. Certification requirements ban uncredentialed adults from helping out in school programs and constrict off-campus activities. Renewed lobbying efforts by school people could revise outmoded laws. Formal guidelines for attendance, certification and funding are necessary. However, schools should have greater discretion to conduct off-campus activities and to hire skilled, non-certified adults as needed for special services without unnecessary legal restrictions or financial penalties.

Federal Support for Flexible Structures

There is little direct legislative language speaking to the issue of flexible educational structures. Legislators regard it as a matter for local discretion. However, the emergence in the reauthorization of ESEA of direct encouragement for extended school activities, particularly in Title IV-C (Sec. 431(a)(9)), Title VI (magnet schools, school pairing), and in Title VIII - Community Schools, is a significant indication of national educational leadership support for alternatives, particularly at the secondary level.

Other federal efforts that emphasize flexible programs for troubled youth include: Alcohol and Drug Abuse Education, HEW's Runaway Youth program; DOL's in-school employment and training initiatives, ACTION's youth service efforts and school-based delinquency programs in the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Better coordination would improve the impact of these efforts.

3. Relevant Curricula

Secondary curricula are generally of the "old school" - designed for higher level studies in discrete subject areas. They have not changed in fifty years although today's teenagers resemble their predecessors very little. Many teachers are ill-prepared to instruct in remedial skills, experiential studies or career preparation. Bilingual, handicapped and affirmative action programs are new enough that most staff want more training to adapt their course content to special requirements in these areas. Most materials are irrelevant to the interests and lifestyles of multi-cultural teenagers living in urban centers. Advocates of curriculum reform have charted the negative effects of subtle racism, sexism and stereotyping, the residue of which still taints some materials.

Lack of commerical materials is not really the problem. Recent Stanford Research Institute (SRI, 1978) studies show that teachers report "too many materials are on the market." More to the point than new texts or films is the need to emphasize certain aspects of the curriculum over others, to adapt course content to urban teens' lifestyles and interests and to gain long term funding for secondary compensatory programs.

Three major areas of the curriculum need reform:

a - basic skills
b - school/work transitions
c - special needs

a. Basic Skills

The back to basics movement is misleading. If basics refer to the cliche of reading, writing and arithmetic, then schools do not need to "go back." Every school curriculum is required by law to offer those courses.

On one level, the demand for basics is a reaction to the proliferation of electives at a time when student scores are falling in the standard academic subjects. On another, basics are synonymous with good behavior. The plea for them is a call to return to the traditional norms that dictated the way teachers taught and the way students learned.

Both interpretations are discordant with the emerging needs for better career preparation, consumer and citizenship education and life-long learning. Not without ire did parents note that basics in private and rich suburban public schools included recreational skills, foreign languages, computer sciences, and often some form of experiential learning. One parent cited a newspaper account of John Kennedy Jr., who recently graduated from a private school. "He spent a school term working at the courthouse while my son is told to stay in the same classes with the same kinds of materials that have failed him in the past. Now, I wonder which programs are preparing leaders?" Other urban parents echo this fear that basic competency will lead to mininum training not maximum education. The other side of that argument is that city students too often do not read, write and compute very well. Those skills are fundamental to all.

Too many young people arrive in junior and senior high schools with skills below grade level or, soon after arrival, fall behind. We know little about teaching basic skills to older students. Teachers who are willing to do so lack adequate training and have little planning time in which to develop skill building materials relevant to their specific content areas. Moreover, while on the one hand teens must master basics, they must also be challenged to move on to maximum levels of achievement. Those basics must be a departure point for higher level inquiry skills.

Debate continues on how to develop simultaneously leadership confidence and skill competence in urban teenage students. A central question is whether successful skill drills build self-esteem, or whether improved self-esteem, nurtured by success in affective and experiental studies, leads to higher achievement? No one knows for sure.

Controversial, as well, is parent involvement in the school life of teenagers. The notion that parents should reinforce skills at home is very popular today. Teenagers infamous for rejecting familial values during adolescence often make this tactic inoperable before it has a chance to get underway. Parents must try to sustain an active interest in their children's schooling beyond the elementary years.

Yet, they are noticably hesitant to say exactly how. One could get the impression that during teenage years, parents become the helpers of their neighbors children.

Discussions of basics are charged. Some fear that emphasis on competency is simply a way to cut costs. They accuse budget cutters of having little regard for the disproportionate dependency on schooling of many urban teens who count on education to acquaint them with experiences that students of higher socio-economic status get at home. Others feel that urban teachers hold too low an expectation of what students can learn, and that consequently those teachers lower their standards. They call for strict adherence to drills, standardized testing and immediate feedback to bring students up to grade levels.

Boiled down to specific recommendations for reform, this strategy calls for a definition of skills that includes basic language and computational facility along with instruction in consumer affairs, health studies, parenting and career education. We reject the "frills" label ascribed to leisure skills. They are important in family life and future sociability. Ancient Skills: adventure, creative esthetics, community service, practical skills, and logical inquiry, as well as knowledge of how to cope in an urban environment are all critical to adolescent development. Crucial are:

. teacher retraining in skill building methods appropriate for adolescent learners;

. skills centers and individualized skills packets that promote self-paced learning;

. more attention, both formal and informal, to students and their progress by teachers;

. use of school volunteers and student tutors to augment teacher - student interaction;

. materials relevant to young adults in cities;

. straightforward information to students on what is, and is not, success in the "real" world; and

. school accredited experiences outside of classrooms to clarify how coursework relates to adult life responsibilities.

The call for more basics stems from complex motives. Still to be discussed are the issues of minimum competency testing, teacher training for skill development in secondary schools and research on adolescence learning.

b. School to Work Transitions

Most people agree that schools should not shoulder the blame for the high unemployment rates of young adults. But, schools can and should do a better job of preparing teens for the work world. For some that means better vocational training. However, vocational education is generally a job training program for a special track of teens who know - or believe they know - early on what work they want to do for a lifetime. Usually by the tenth grade, these students make a final job skill choice - say plumbing - and two years later, after specific apprentice-like training sprinkled with some general courses in English, social studies and the like, they graduate as plumbers helpers. Such programs do play a vital role in the education of many young adults. But for urban teens, who need broader exposure to career options and preparation, such limited vocational education programs are inadequate.

In many cities the vocational education courses in comprehensive high schools have limited facilities that may be out-of-date and inoperable. Sometimes underequipped, ill-repaired, over subscribed vocational programs are plainly considered dumping grounds. Instruction is poor. Counseling is bad, and the students have difficulty arranging schedules that allow any interaction with the 'mainstream' academic students. The latter, fearing the onus of non-college preparatory courses, avoid all contact with vocational studies.

On the other hand, vocational high schools in some cities often vie with the top academic schools for college placement successes. With limited space the schools use rigorous admissions tests to screen applicants. City parents, in attempts to remove their children from inferior neighborhood schools, encourage children to take the tests. Only the top test-passers populate these vocational schools.

The question is where all the other students in both situations can get career related training. By happenstance, for the most part, and therein lies the problem.

In a world where we all face the probability of one or more major career shifts during a lifetime, educational programs ought to offer some preparation in career choice. This involves some major shifts in the way we now view secondary school curricula. All subject area teachers should regularly include career-related studies in their lessons. Interdisciplinary and experiential programs could provide teens with a more holistic understanding of how classroom subjects relate to the adult work world.

We do not want to see a career education elective. Rather, preparation for the adult work world should be a goal of the total school, translated into a cohesive program of career counseling, course studies, and job site experiences.

We have several specific suggestions:

- Vocational education programs must be less rigid. They need to be integrated into the regular academic program. Introduction to vocational skills and exposure to several kinds of skills training must be offered to all. Vocational students should be able to participate in academic courses as well;

- Principals need to up-grade evaluation techniques for vocational instructors;

- Work experience should be required for graduation;

- Vocational programs need closer ties to the local private sector to insure the latest information on techniques, equipment and job classifications;

- Volunteer career counselors from the private sector should be sought to help teachers and counselors whose job experiences are generally limited to educational organizations;

- School systems should seek incentives for expanded private sector help in career preparation of secondary students - specifically to provide career shadowing internships and work study options and to encourage employees to volunteer as student work supervisors, career counselors and resource aids for teachers;

- Schools should seek Youth Employment Training Program funds and other Department of Labor in-school training and coordinate career preparation and work study programs with local youth employment services such as Neighborhood Youth Corps and those of the National Manpower Institute; and

- Schools must raise public awareness of the need for incentives for expanded private sector help in preparing teens for work. Some suggested: tax credits, worker bonuses and wage subsidies for volunteer services to public schools; revision of minimum wage and Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) legislation and union contract modifications to allow pre-apprentice training programs that award credit toward education to compensate for lower wages.

A final note: The turf battles that continue to rage between vocational and career education afficionados divert entirely too much energy from the real problem - how most effectively to prepare urban adolescents for the world of work. To parents and students seriously troubled by the career prospects now facing urban teens, the vocational education/career education conflict is false. All should get on with the real task of educating teens as best we know how to make the transition from school to work.

c. Special Needs

Some students and some subjects do not get enough attention. It is popular to complain about proliferating special programs. The fact is, they have evolved from real needs that local schools cannot or do not meet. Schools are being asked to do more.

Physically and mentally handicapped children must be mainstreamed and given Individualized Educational Plans; limited English speaking children need special bilingual instruction. Native Americans get special services at Indian Education Centers. Young women and minorities also must be protected from bias through program modifications.

Schools are also getting federal and State ideas and assistance in content areas other than basic skills and school to work transition. Curricula must be developed for an arts environmental and health education. Law-related education is another new subject. In addition, funding cuts in over-extended city school budgets often eliminate programs considered basic in wealthier schools such as physical education, sports, dance, and music. City teenagers want instruction in these areas and deserve to get it.

Few now argue against special programs or program adjustments that serve students with physical or mental handicaps. Also diminishing is the clamor that often surrounded moves to eliminate sex bias, extend bilingual education, and minimize economic disadvantages that retard learning. As the initial din subsides and schools get on with the substance of these programs, new problems arise, generally related to costs, program adaption to adolescent learning patterns and excessive paperwork. Not surprisingly, urban school people call for more money, more research and less red tape. Realistic, though, about the improbability of any of the above materializing in time to help their immediate program needs, they also request more local discretion to work out quirks in new programs to the benefit of the local youth to be served.

Federal Support for Curriculum Development

The issues of basic skills and school to work are emphasized in current legislation. The large compensatory programs have traditionally been devoted to the former and have been bolstered by the expanded Title II for basic skills. Vocational and Career Education have been paralleled in significance by the youth employment legislation administered by the Department of Labor (DOL). The 22% set aside for in-school projects under the Youth Employment Training Program (YETP) represents the bare minimum of labor funds reaching urban secondary students. It has prompted some urban school district federal coordinators to admit that various DOL programs have more impact on urban adolescents than do Education Division programs. The special needs category demonstrates Congressional and conference concern over sex bias; lingual, cultural and economic disadvantages; and physical or mental handicaps. Of note to urban secondary educators are several programs conceived as incentives for talented, low-income youth.

4. Integrated Counseling Services

To give the appellation "counseling program" to big city secondary school operations that put one counselor with 600 or more students is a misnomer. Clearly, the first step to improved school counseling is to reduce the counselor - student ratio and free counselors from paperwork duties so they can spend maximum time with students. At the least, the situation can be ameliorated by hiring or soliciting volunteer clerical help for the counseling department. But these are patch-up remedies.

School communities need to rethink just what it is that they expect from counseling programs for in-school teens. The school site council assessments discussed previously would be a logical place to start. The point is for local school people to define a progam consistent with their own expectations and unique student needs. Here, too, there is no one best plan. There are, however, some common ingredients of an exemplary program - that is one that integrates personal and career guidance with educational planning:

. Counseling services for all students not just those who "act-out" or excel;

. Regular counselor-pupil-parent contact, including home visits by counselor (on paid school time);

. Regular counselor-teacher exchanges;

. Individualized career counseling;

. Peer counseling with special emphasis on stress reduction and interpersonal relations;

. Volunteer counselors from the community to bridge home and school concerns for youth; and

. Ability to respond with direct services or immediate referrals for: family planning and parenting, day care, employment information, juvenile justice programs, drug and alcohol prevention centers, physical and mental health care, handicapped services and dropout prevention.

The diversity of the urban student population dictates that counseling staffs should have a mix of racial, ethnic and bilingual men and women. Volunteers recruited especially for career counseling and home-school communication could bring more adults into the school who more nearly reflect the ethnic composition of the community. This means that school communities need to develop incentives for volunteers. Carfare, child care or simply official recognition may be enough in some cases. The benefits of bringing more adults into schools far outweigh such costs.

Accessibility is also crucial. Teenagers have strongly emotional responses to perceived problems. While adults may minimize those traumas, for adolescents they are real, and at those times, students should know that they can get in to see the counselor. To insure this, counselors must have flexible schedules that allow students to drop-in for informal talks. Counselors also need time during the school day to be seen outside of their offices at homes and in classrooms.

Several people have urged the extension of counseling services to staff members. The stress of the urban school workplace, as evidenced by high teacher absenteeism and stress-related illnesses, makes this worthy of consideration.

Federal Support for Integrated Counseling Services

A proliferation of ESEA language concerning individualized assessments, testing and counseling is augmented by the establishment of a new Title IV-D. A separate section (129) of Title I encourages the development of individualized educational plans similar to those mandated by the Handicapped Education Act. The rising national concern over Youth Employment has lead to language supporting career counseling and occupational aptitude testing. The Career Education (Sec. 8(a)) and Vocational Education (Sec. 134(a)) Acts have sections authorizing exemplary counseling programs; the Department of Labor's Youth Employment Training Program (YETP) also encourages career counseling.

5. Incentives for Students

Schools must develop ways to recognize the "average student" who does not earn special attention for being extremely good or bad. Currently there are only two apparent rewards for them: early dismissal and good grades. There are other ways to challenge these students. Significant ways include emphasis on experimental options such as interdisciplinary programs, independent study, and student-designed small group projects. Experimental student rules on school policy making bodies could reinforce student's stake in schooling. Schools can and should ask for student help in upgrading the image of the school. Site councils could enlist private sector aid to develop special student study and travel grades for academic credit. They should also participate in the full components of special motivational programs offered through local, State and Federal educational agencies. The average student of large city schools is not the incorrigible culprit who benefits the best from succeeding. More often, he or she is underserved, under-valued, and under-represented in the reward scheme of their school.

Federal Support for Student Incentives

This section cites the Federal programs that offer special incentives for students such as: work options, academic credit for experiential learning; and financial assistance. Most are in the employability area, but, perhaps, better known to urban educators are Higher Education's program for talented disadvantaged secondary school students: Upward Bound and Talent Search. The new Biomedical Sciences program authorized in ESEA follows a similar model by offering stipends to selected students to pursue their education in biomedical sciences. ACTION's National Center for Service Learning provides training and technical assistance to high school students interested in community service.

6. Evaluation of Students

Letter grade measures of achievement are often not indicative of students' actual skill levels. Too many graduates of the A,B,C, variety actually cannot read, write or solve higher level problems. Well-intentioned teachers with limited ways to reward or punish students too often issue grades that reflect attitude toward school, teacher and subject matter rather than level of proficiency. Urban school graduates with B and C grade averages often fail criterion-referenced tests. Parents, especially, feel that this type of evaluation simply must stop. It is no service to a teenager to pretend that he or she has more skills and knowledge than is actually the case. The fact will surface, and has, in applications for post-secondary study or work. On the other hand, the use of standardized tests to promote students is also problematic. Hastily established minimum competency tests are unfair to unsuspecting juniors and seniors who were not prepared for the exams. The various biases of such tests against the non-middle class non-white students who comprise majorities in the urban secondary schools are well-documented. They may eventually skew classroom work towards largely irrelevant data that are likely to appear as test questions.

A balance between these two extremes is necessary. Schools need an evaluation and promotion system that is based on mastery of subjects not on time-in-class. It would include regular skills assessments (tests of one kind or another), immediate feedback to the student and parents, and remediation, reinforcement or promotion as appropriate. Standardized tests would be a tool in this process, used to inform students and teachers of progress toward mastery, not to sort them into "fast" and "slow" tracks. The operating assumption here is that all students can learn with adequate materials, time on task and teacher guidance.

Ideally, such a process would be initiated in the primary grades and followed throughout the junior and senior high levels. Teachers would communicate across school boundaries to coordinate skill building activities. Individualized, self-paced skill reinforcement materials would accompany subject area studies. Special learning centers would allow students to work independently in areas of special interest or needed remediation.

Note the use of the descriptor "ideal." Existing class scheduling and grade level promotions relegate these pupil evaluation reforms to the realm of the ideal. Current programs cannot accommodate self-paced learning and individualized promotion. In fact, teachers, in some schools, are ordered to promote all students or show "just cause" of retention.

The whole area of student evaluation and promotion is too uncertain for districts or States to prescribe global guidelines. Instead, the theme of local assessment surfaces again. Some will decry variations in criteria from school to school as potentially unequal, and therefore unfair to students. Others will insist that some form of standardized evaluation is necessary for college admission officers and personnel managers.

Regardless of the presumption of district or State standards, differences from school to school already exist. School-site criteria for student achievement return to local schools the blame or praise for student achievements.

Federal Support for Student Evaluation

The Federal government does not directly intervene in local methods of evaluating students. The prospect of national standards is an anathema to almost all educators.

7. Evaluation of Programs

Too much time and money is spent on program evaluations that go unused. If they are to be valuable, evaluations must be geared to answer questions of interest and importance to those who pay for, work in and receive benefits from the program being judged - primarily school site teachers and students. Such evaluations do not need to be expensive. Nor do they require multitudes of outside experts or assistance. They do not require careful forethought and systematic follow through by evaluators aware of school level program goals. They should be able to report to State and Federal funders pertinent information in such a way that local practitioners can understand and use it. National norms and large scale Federal, State and foundation measurements of success have little meaning for local schools. While policy analysts may use the information that trickles in from such global studies, the people most responsible for fine tuning programs to the educational needs of students must have more school-specific data.

Parents and school people worry about the lack of positive incentives for adolescents who neither drop out or stand out. Schools must develop ways to recognize the "average" teen who does not earn special attention for being extremely good or bad. There are two apparent rewards for these students: early dismissal - a sad and frightingly real commentary on schools-and good grades - which may encourage but do not reflect achievement.

There are some ways to challenge committed, interested students. The most significant are those that emphasize expanded options such as interdisciplinary programs, special tutorials, independent study, and student-designed small group projects using school and community facilities. A full roster of extra-curricular activities and expanded student roles on school policy-making bodies could reinforce students' stake in schooling. Site councils could enlist private sector aid to develop special student study and travel grants for academic credit. Non-penalizing "stop-out" opportunities for students involved in special community-based cultural, social, or business projects ought to become routine. Schools should also participate in the full component of special motivational programs, such as Upward Bound, Talent Search and Biomedical Sciences, and Department of Labor programs offered by State, Federal and private funds.

School environments must also change. Students are interested and interesting people. School personnel must remember that. The major actors in any school activity should be students-not those paid to develop and nurture student talent. This means youth ought to have meaningful say in how schools operate, what schools teach and which programs are failing. This is not as radical a statement as it may sound. Young adults, when given the opportunity, are very responsible about what is and is not central to their educational growth. Unfortunately, too many secondary schools have built up, over time, layer upon layer of behavioral and academic regulations that proscribe any way for students to share responsibilities. This has bred irresponsibility. It is easy enough to put an end to such negativism. Schools can and must routinely include students in the planning and assessment of school curricula and policies. Schools can and should ask for student help in upgrading the image of the school in the community. Most importantly, teachers and counselors must allow, expect and help students to design interesting, challenging relevant programs and set standards for success.

The average student of large city schools is *not* the incorrigible culprit who prevents the best from succeeding. More often, he or she is underserved, undervalued and underrepresented in the reward schemes of their schools. We owe these students in the middle long overdue attention.

Two strategies could improve program evaluations. First, district, State and Federal technical assistance personnel should train school level practitioners in program evaluation. This would build a pool of site level experts able to collect crucial program information for site planners. Furthermore, improved school site data collection mechanisms would abet district, State and Federal educational research efforts.

As important as who conducts program evaluation is what criteria are used to rank programs as good or bad for students. Affective measures count - particularly for teenage learners. Programs should be evaluated on how well they decrease abusive or disruptive behavior, increase student attendance and involvement in school and community activities, and reduce teacher absenteeism, as well as how achievement scores or acceptance rates to post-secondary school rise. If a program succeeded in encouraging more students to attend and interact, and did not lower achievement scores in the process, it probably should be considered positive. Programs geared for score improvement alone are not enough if schools assume a broader responsibility for developing to the fullest each student's intellectual, moral and creative potential.

Federal Support for Program Evaluation

The reauthorization of ESEA establishes program evaluation as a critical component in Federally funded programs, particularly in Title I and II. One of the major contributions of the Federal government in education has been its highlighting of the need for and the art of evaluation. Consequently, the state of that art has been greatly advanced. It should be noted that the National Title I Advisory Council has called for a moratorium on large scale federal studies, encouraging in their place, dissemination and practical, local project improvement studies.

KEY ACTORS FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Principal: The principal must work cooperatively with staff, students, and parents to build positive school environments with varied educational programs tailored to school strengths and needs. He/she must lead efforts to reform and innovate and seek technical assistance and training as appropriate. The principal is the key.

Teacher/Counselor: School staff must reassess continually individual work plans to determine their relevance to the students they serve. Each staff member must assume a special responsibility to challenge each student and ensure that each experiences success. Regular informal dialogue between individual students, teachers and counselors must complement formal interaction.

Students: Students must seek out challenging programs, encourage competent teachers and develop personal standards of excellence. They must recognize their power, both individually and collectively, to effect educational reforms and must demand diverse, high quality programs.

Business/Labor/Community Organizations: Communities must supplement school resources with personnel, facilities and services that help to diversify current school programs. The community role will be discussed further in the section, "School Community Development."

Federal Support for Educational Program Development

In Federal legislation, there is little authority for school level program development; again Title I's Schoolwide Projects (sec. 133) stand out. Title II (sec. 222(d)) details the process for school level development of basic skills projects. Federal intervention in the curriculum area respects the tradition of local control over the educational process. Compensatory education, the fundamental thrust of almost all the legislation, is oriented toward basic skills. Unfortunately, compensatory education is almost synonymous with elementary education. Until such programs as Titles I, II, VI and others in ESEA turn funds toward the secondary schools, USOE can expect to have little impact on the educational program.

Congress, in its reluctance to prescribe program content and/or structure, has provided in many programs broad avenues for curricular and structural innovation. Included are the major compensatory education programs such as Title I and VI, as well as the smaller discretionary programs which are not specific as to content areas such as Title IV-C's school improvement grants.

B. Professional Development

Educational professionals need new skills. The technology of their fields, whether administration, teaching or counseling, has changed drastically in recent years. The needs of the student population and parent and community expectations about schooling have, too. Veteran teaching staffs contend with complex educational requirements of urban secondary teaching with scant opportunity to sharpen their own skills. Counselors face the near impossible task of advising 400-800 adolescents. Topics range from conventional educational counseling to teenage pregnancy, drug dependency, racism and sexism - issues not tradionally emphasized in school counselor training programs. Administrators, hamstrung by the daily crisis management duties of over-sized urban schools, have little time or energy to exercise educational leadership.

At the same time, the traditional community respect for educators, which often compensated for their relatively low pay, has waned. High cost/low performance urban secondary schools draw criticism from a public, dissatisfied with social institutions in general. Taxpayers are particularly impatient with the apparent ineptitude of school professionals who fail to put together workable school plans.

This cycle of frustration and continuing school failure has led to accusations. Teachers and counselors, shouldering the brunt of criticism for graduating illiterate students, blame principals, parents and the broader social milieu. Lack of home reinforcement, earlier school leadership and societal supports join, teachers claim, to send them adolescents so far below grade level norms that they are nearly impossible to educate. Principals lament that the closed educational job market has eliminated the informal introduction of innovative techniques and theories that newly trained teachers brought to a staff. Those older personnel most in need of skill up-dates no longer participate in district wide in-service programs which seem irrelevant to specific departmental problems. Union constraints protect 'bad' teachers, principals complain. Disenchanted parents and community members vote to contain costs. School Boards are pressed to marry school staff salary increments to student achievement gains.
There are few incentives to break this cycle. The result: school budgets are further restricted; schools and communities continue to suffer general distruct of one another; students, as usual, are victimized.

Each constituent group has some justification for the criticisms. The entire urban secondary school scene festers with critical problem areas. Since teachers and counselors can have impact on virtually every one of those areas, professional development programs that sharpen skills and reinforce excellent performance could be a potent salve.

Again, the locus of re-training activities is key. Professional development programs must be designed by and for school-level staff.

Plans will differ from school to school. That makes sense as staff strengths do, too. School workshops may be bolstered by joint sessions with district colleagues and State or national groups. The basic program, however, should originate from school site needs. A cohesive, on-going professional development plan is integral to urban secondary school reform.

Specific progressional development recommendations fall into one of three groupings:

1. Management training
2. Staff training
3. Staff incentives

1. Management Training

The call to train school boards is current - and sensible. City boards, the majority of whom are white, protestant and upper middle class, have little in common with the parents and students that they represent. They need orientation to secondary school issues. Workshops to expand specific skills in human relations, labor negotiations, public relations, budgeting and evaluation techniques would help.

Unfortunately, chances are that members will not get the training needed. They usually work elsewhere. Board operations consume their primary non-work time. Additional hours set aside for seminars or workshops are just not available. A recent school board training program planned and nationally publicized by a major university was canceled when too few board members signed up to attend. Whatever their reasons - time constraints and plain lack of interest were two offered - the fact of the workshop cancellation bespeaks the tenuousness of viable school board training programs in the near future.

The immediacy of the need to reform urban secondary schools precludes our focus on school board training. We would rather see board members spend any extra time in the schools. There they would learn first hand why we recommend that limited professional development dollars focus on school site leaders.

Good schools need good principals. As USOE Commissioner Ernest Boyer put it:

> "It's the principal who can make the difference in the school. It's the principal who sets the goals, inspires teachers, communicates with parents, and calls for new initiatives. It's the principal who is the front line school leader in this Nation (1978, p.16)."

That front-line leader is asking for help. And, as a recent national survey reveals, the larger the district and the bigger the school, the more urgent the plea (Goor, 1978,). Urban secondary school principals face special problems brought on by special populations in special environments. Their plight makes compelling conference fare. However, sympathy will not keep good principals in troubled schools. The principal burn-out rate in cities points that out all too clearly.

What we must do is provide them with the skills and support that they need tc keep their schools operating. That requires professional development programs for principals. They themselves identify needs for expanded training in: community involvement, public relations and media use, school finance and budgeting, education law, collective bargaining, program and staff evaluation, curriculum development, energy management and monitoring State and Federal programs (NCES, 1978, p. 9). Many urban principals have been promoted through the ranks with minimal training. Complex management technologies and the challenges of leading schools through a time of decline demand sophisticated skills that most educational administrators do not get. Organizational structures are already set. Principals have no chance to shape their own. Their overly large student populations and plant sizes are too unwieldly for effective management. Contracts transform colleagial principals into antagonistic bosses. This could preclude meaningful change. These complexities have been well documented: the tempo of organizational juggling and balancing acts increases exponentially with arithmetic growth of student and staff factors (Taylor, 1978). Principal fumbling, therefore, would seem inevitable. That is good reason to work especially hard to find the help for which they have asked.

We have some recommendations that may help. First, expand the executive academy concept at the district regional, State and federal levels. Urban secondary school principals need to talk to one another about what does and does not work. Executive academies offer a forum for that sharing. Academy exchanges could also help build leadership support networks invaluable in times of crisis. Principals should be paid and provided back up staff in order to attend. Though public funds need not provide amenities similar to those conferred on private sector professionals, they should, at the least, provide paid, pleasant time for principals to talk seriously about their work. For managers charged with the job of educating a next generation of adults, this "perk" would seem reasonable.

Other supports can also help. Principals should have access to internships, executive pairing and management programs that familiarize them with the most up-to-date management practices. Private sector leaders are grappling with issues of energy management, labor relations, computerization, budget cutbacks, federal red tape, media use and affirmative action. These managers are likely to have some valuable new experiences to share.

Principals also need technical assistance for specific site concerns.

District level consultants or trouble-shooters should be available to move from school to school as needed. This help could reinforce executive academy training, especially in community involvement, site budgeting, evaluation, grant monitoring and other areas so designated.

In addition to new management information, site administrators need systematic evaluation and feedback. A pat on the back or a good, swift kick helps principals, too. Regular assessment should be a part of every site council school improvement plan.

A reasonable question at this point might be just what does reward an urban secondary school principal. Paid advanced training or funds for special consulting with other administrators could accompany consistently high evaluations. Multiple-year guarantees, consolidation of dollars at the site, or special discretionary awards might be offered. Guarantees from local social service agencies that calls for help would be immediately answered might de-pressurize a principal's day. Local teenage crisis intervention and juvenile justice units come to mind as logical supports here. School site council assumption of public relations and school-community funtions could add substantial in-school time for the conventional "leadership" activities that get shortchanged in the current crisis - managment atmosphere. Even community interest in school affairs should not be underestimated as an incentive for good principals to stay. Staff hiring perogatives have been suggested by some as a "perk." This might strap the weakest administrators with the least desirable staff. This is not, in our view, an acceptable recommendation.

Management training requires funds and time set aside for it. School site budget planners must build both into their plans. Supplemental training could come from private sector organizations who can include school executives in their own professional development workshops.

In times of dollar shortages these extra expenses may be questioned. We believe the potential savings far exceed professional development costs. If, as so many have said, leadership is what makes the crucial difference in schools, sound training for principals may, in fact, be the cheapest reform.

Federal Support for Management Training

There is very little specific language referring to the training of educational management. Private foundations and national organizations are more active in this area. Imminent reauthorization of the Higher Education Act section on Education Professions Development may include new language supporting principal training.

2. Staff Training

Teachers and counselors, as a group, are getting older. Decline has hit. The market is generally closed except for specialty areas. Educators no longer have options to move in, out or around in their fields. So they struggle to stay in current placements.

Some would hail this circumstance, citing staff stability and years of teaching wisdom as bonuses for urban teens, whose own more unstable young lives would surely benefit. Unfortunately, this is not quite the scenario. To talk of staff stability is anachronistic. Desegregation and other affirmative action mandates and staff reductions forcibly transfer teachers around the city. Some change placements two or three times per year. Educators in many secondary schools today barely know their department colleagues. Often new arrivals have met the principal only once or twice. Concerns and mutual interest of staff in other curriculum areas or in other parts of the building go recognized. Those who have not been shifted about carry added workloads while newer co-workers learn routines and materials. Stability is the least likely descriptor for these work environments.

Teachers and counselors do have more years of professional experience. However, training that prepared these now-wise educators was for another time and place. Historically, junior and senior high instructors were trained to teach subjects such as American literature, world histroy and geometry from a common text to a large class group.

Their students, the expectation went, were willing, albeit sometimes reluctant, to study. Major worries for those adolescents were of the "invitation-to-the prom" or "place-on-the-football-team" variety with a few bouts of wild beer parties for spice. Most likely this secondary student profile was inapplicable even then to urban teens. Nevertheless, teacher training institutions, notoriously weak in urban-related studies, continued to prepare their graduates for those presumed bobby-socksers and jocks.

Needless to say, the urban teaching world holds dramatically different experiences. Overwhelmingly large schools with high concentrations of multicultural and poor students replace the white, middle-class, mid-sized schools of the college texts. Student concerns range from prom problems to teenage parenting, from sports rivalries to gang wars and drug busts. Periodic violence and its ever-present potential in impersonal, adversarial school environments infect students and staff alike with stress related ailments.

Many teachers and counselors have attempted to adjust to the new realities of urban secondary schooling. Teachers revamp instructional styles and often re-write class materials. Counselors balance college counseling with sessions on human relations, drug abuse and parenting and build reference files on emergency housing and welfare aid. But working in environments for which they are ill-trained takes its toll.

Stressful, hostile environments deplete energy for the extra work, awareness and sensitivity that is often central to a successful urban classroom. Staff retreat to familiar methods that were standard operating procedures of their past but are inadequate for the special needs of multicultural and poor adolescents. As a result, talented and inquisitive minority youth are labeled behavior problems because they are bored and want more to do. Slower students, on the other hand, are too often presumed uneducable and, thus, allowed to remain uneducated.

Urban teachers and counselors have been on the front lines of educational challenges for too long. They have borne blame for problems that they did not create but also cannot seem to solve. They looked to unions for support and defense; yet, district and State centralization of decision making in educational unions has displaced their say over school level concerns. Consequently, the professionals most directly responsible for the education of urban teenagers are those most in need of, and most lacking, school level organizational supports. This trend must be reversed.

School staff need infusions of new ideas and techniques and new incentives to upgrade skills. They need re-training in multicultural education, adolescent skill development, affective education, career preparation, experiential studies, stress reduction and positive motivational activities. Teachers must learn to improve compensatory education techniques for secondary students without sacrificing high academic standards. Counselors must improve career counseling skills. They need to become familiar with stress reduction techniques for both students and staff colleagues. Both groups ought to have training in using school volunteer help effectively and should learn to recognize student skills and integrate them into special tutorial and peer counseling projects.

This kind of professional development can best occur at the site level with colleagues who face similar problems. An ongoing professional development program must be included in the site council needs assessment and long range plan. Most activities should take place during the work day, at school. Longer conferences or retreats are important, but only as an adjunct to school level sessions.

Other activities that could upgrade professional skills include:

. pairing with private sector workers in subject related fields to upgrade understanding of the world of work;

. internships in the private sector;

. mini-sabbaticals;

. discretionary grants for school-related studies to encourage staff professional growth and act as incentives for excellence, as well;

. expansion of Teacher Centers and Teacher Corps training programs;

. teacher academies similar to those described for principal training; and

. ongoing school-university links for improving secondary teaching and counseling.

National teacher and counselor organizations should also focus some resources on the specific professional development needs of urban educators. Special conferences, newsletters and research studies could add important support.

Urban certification is another possibility. Though helpful in preparing urban educators, such a new hurdle may discourage many professionals who might best work with big city teenagers. Instead, teacher and administrator pre-service internships in urban schools should be encouraged.

The type of re-training called for is extensive. It asks experienced school personnel to make changes in their materials, methods and attitudes about urban teens. It is crucial that the professional development activities be sensitively conducted in a non-recriminatory atmosphere. We think it is possible to do so. It is also necessary.

Federal Support for Staff Training

Teacher Corps and Teacher Centers come to the fore for the training of teachers, while ESEA, Title IV-D supports the training of guidance and counseling professionals. Almost all Federal education programs have built in training provisions. Some with special needs, such as the Vocational Education Act, the Bilingual Education Act and the Education for All Handicapped Children Act have substantial training authorizations.

3. Staff Incentives

Teaching in cities is much harder than teaching anywhere else, and teaching in city secondary schools is hardest of all. Junior and senior high staff are burning out at alarmingly high rates. To a growing number the traditional incentives of paychecks, union benefits and tenure are not enough. Last year thousands of teachers in New York and Los Angeles quit rather than accept a forced transfer to inner city schools (Wall Street Journal, 1979). Those not at the point of quitting often transfer, at the first opportunity, to schools on the periphery of the city - schools with somewhat lower concentrations of disadvantaged students and slightly newer facilities. Inner city junior and senior high schools are left with the least experienced teachers working with student populations most in need of special educational services.

Those leaving blame workplace pressures. Recent research verifies their claim. As one commentator put it, "city teachers are subject to physical and psychic trauma as a day-to-day experience. They work harder getting to work, at work and getting home from work (Bowler, 1978)." Testimony to the degree of stress in their schools is the alarming parallel between urban teachers' anxiety symptoms and the clinical definition of battle fatigue. We cannot understate the psychic toll on educators of highly pressurized, overly large, impersonal work environments that inhibit close contact with students or colleagues, impede administrative support and place staff in fear for personal safety. The sheer frustration of watching too many teenagers get short shrift from the schools exacerbates negative feelings about their jobs. The status of educators in the broader community does not help: they are the lowest in pay and prestige in most professional rankings. They are at the bottom of the school hierarchy as well. Administrators earn more and have higher status than do the teachers and counselors most responsible for the educational program. It comes as no surprise that a third of the teachers polled in a recent National Education Association (NEA) survey wanted to leave teaching (Wall Street Journal, 1979). Some of the best leave fastest as other job options open more quickly for them. At the same time, they work harder and 'burn-out' faster.

Abhorrent secondary school conditions doubly penalize urban schools. Good staff are leaving, and the best new educators look for suburban, rural or private school positions. Immediate new incentives are critical if we are, in fact, to attempt urban secondary reform.

Defining just what is needed to keep good principals, teachers and counselors is problematic. Automatic salary increments that accrue to all irrespective of differences in working conditions or performance standards obviously do not help. Collective bargaining offers some protections but also superimposes adversarial roles on once colleagial staff. So prescriptive are contractual guidelines that evaluation processes are perfunctory. Denial of tenure continues to employ poor performers. Principals, inundated with new administrative burdens, have little time for staff evaluations. This crucial leadership role is often delegated to department heads who also teach and often have inadequate training for staff evaluations. Lackadaisical professional appraisals generate low performance expectations among teachers and counselors. They get little colleagial feedback on their day-to-day work styles. Moreover, with high proportions of hard to teach students, teachers can easily blame unteachable students for what, in fact, may be bad teaching.

No less than bold new incentives and reward systems will bring about the drastic improvements in working conditions that are needed in inner city junior and senior high schools. Educators relate improved morale to options that sharpen professional skills and that personalize and diversify their work environments. A combination of the following options could help to hold the best staff.

. Exemplary teaching should receive recognition and rewards; mediocrity should not. School specific performance criteria that expand on minimum district and contractual standards could help differentiate the two.

. Systematic evaluation with immediate feedback, non-stigmatized remediation or recognition of excellence when appropriate should be standard operating procedures in urban secondary schools. Administration must follow through on needed dismissals. The psychic costs to staff when this does not happen far outweigh the dollar savings to schools unwilling to risk litigation.

. Mini-sabbaticals could provide staff with periodic breaks from stressful routines.

. Discretionary grants could allow teachers to research new material and to rework familiar subjects into new, interdisciplinary project formats. Potential help from students, colleagues and parents could break through the isolation that many urban staff feel.

. Master-teacher designations with stipends and release time would allow the best staff time to share skills with colleagues. Such titles also recognize and reward excellence.

. Expanded staff roles on decision making bodies such as school site councils restore a needed sense of participation in charting the educational direction of schools. The psychic benefits of such participation are discussed in Section I: "Shared Decision Making."

. Counselor-teacher teams could build important colleagial bonds and develop more complete learning profiles of the students taught - a boon to students as well as staff.

. In-school planning time coordinated within departments or by teams would bring co-workers together to talk about mutual concerns and successful practices.

. Paid professional development activities described in the previous section are crucial to staff morale.

. In-school staff counseling services could help reduce effects of stress;

. Assurances that severely disruptive students will be removed from regular classrooms could help to restore a sense of control over the classroom environment.

. Higher pay for staff who work in violent schools may become necessary; and

. Releasing professional staff from mundane and/or dangerous hall and monitoring tasks could help.

We have merely scratched the surface of possible rewards and incentives to keep good staff in city secondary schools. As in other recommendations, we believe that final decisions on what may or may not work ought to be decided by the local school community. They are the ones, after all, who are left with mediocrity when the best burnout.

Federal Support for Staff Incentives

This is a matter for local discretion, although Federal legislation does authorize bonuses (Title I), advanced training stipends (Vocational Education and Teacher Corps), and cancellation of teacher training loans (National Defense Student Loan Program) for teachers in economically depressed areas. In addition, the urban educators consider the availability of funds for site-specific curriculum research and development a welcome incentive for excellence. Broad discretionary grants such as those provided under Title IV-C fit into this category.

KEY ROLES FOR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Principal: Principals must establish work environments that keep good staff. They must develop incentives that reward competence and promote ongoing professional development. They must conduct systematic, non-punitive evaluations and give staff immediate feedback and remediation as needed. Principals must encourage site councils to develop clear performance criteria and consistent, enforcable procedures for dismissal.

Teacher/Counselor: Staff must help set, and work by, school performance criteria. They should articulate professional development needs. Teachers have to be made aware of the special needs of multicultural urban teenagers. They need to improve teaching in basic skills and affective and experiential learning. Student evaluation techniques need brushup. Staff should use existing help in Teacher Centers, Teacher Corps programs and other private and public sector agencies.

Business/Labor/Community Organizations: The private sector can enrich professional development programs by offering executive pairing and special internships that link educators to professionals in subject-related fields. Private sector employee counseling services and career development seminars can be opened to school personnel as appropriate.

Educational Associations and Unions: Local unions must negotiate for professional development options in contracts. They must allow for school-specific needs. Contracts should also include clear procedures for personnel evaluation, feedback, remediation and dismissal. Unions should take a strong stand against incompetence and work with site councils and school boards to establish viable incentives for excellence.

National associations and unions must continue to pair with colleges, universities and research labs to sponsor professional development programs, research and publications. Activities geared for re-training needs of secondary school personnel - adolescent skill development, experiential and career preparation programs, and human relations and values clarification training - should be emphasized.

Federal Support for Professional Development

Federal legislation contains comparatively little specific language on how, when and where to train educational professionals. Only Title I's School-Wide Projects (sec. 133) and the Teacher Center program encourage site discretion in staff development. Most large USOE programs have training authorizations incident to the specific program needs such teaching skills for bilingual or handicapped education language authorizing State leadership in training.

Note: For a comprehensive analysis of Federal programs that impact on professional development, contact the Director of Teacher Corps. The analysis was compiled in May, 1978.

SUMMARY: DIVERSE LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

A variety of learning experiences ought to be routine for all students, not relegated to the few who are either too smart or too incorrigible to be duped into classrooms five or six hours daily. Options should be fully funded and included in the curriculum mainstream. No one best model is needed. Rather, local schools, preferably through site council discussions, must design school-specific plans to diversify the learning environment.

The local school community must carefully rethink:

.Program Development; and
.Professional Development.

Program Development: Educators must expand their notions of when, where and how urban secondary education can best be carried out. Seven essential areas that require new emphases and expanded options are:

1. Program Needs Assessment
2. Flexible Structures
3. Relevant Curricula
4. Integrated Counseling Services
5. Incentives for Students
6. Evaluation of Students
7. Evaluation of Programs

A diversified educational program should be one that builds on the strengths of the urban environment: multicultural student populations; distinctive neighborhoods; concentrations of highly trained professionals; and a wealth of economic, social and cultural resources.

All new options should emphasize maximum skill development. Career preparation experiences and community-based work and study options for school credit should be part of each student's secondary school experience.

Program planners should take care to inventory existing resources in the community that could add meaningful education and counseling experiences to the school program. School structures should then be adjusted to maximize these resources.

Schools with a wide variety of programs in varying times and locations can offer far greater incentives to their diverse multicultural student populations.

Professional Development: Educational professionals need new skills. The technology of their fields, whether administration, teaching or counseling, has changed drastically in recent years. The needs of the student population and parent and community expectations about schooling have, too.

Professional development programs, designed by and for school-level staff, must be an integral part of the diversification plan. Three areas need remphasis:

1. Management training
2. Staff training
3. Staff incentives

Good schools need good principals. The challenges of leading complex urban schools through a time of decline demand sophisticated skills that many educational administrators do not get. Principals need help in: human relations, educational law, labor negotiations, site budgeting, energy management, evaluation techniques and public relations.

The school staff needs infusions of new ideas and techniques and new incentives to up-grade skills. They need retraining in multicultural education, adolescent skill development, affective education, career preparation, experiential studies, stress reduction and positive otivational activities. Teachers must learn to improve compensatory education techniques for secondary students without compensatory education standards. Counselors must improve career counseling skills. They need to become familiar with stress reduction techniques for both students and staff colleagues. Both groups ought to have training in using school volunteer help effectively and should learn to recognize student skills and integrate them into special tutorial and peer counseling projects.

This kind of professional development can best occur at the site level with colleagues who face similar problems. An ongoing professional development program must be included in the site council needs assessment and long-range plan. Most activities should take place during the work day, at school. Longer conferences or retreats are important, but only as an adjunct to school level sessions.

Teaching in inner city schools is, by all accounts, the toughest kind of teaching. Workplace stress costs these schools their best staff. Junior and senior high personnel are burning out at alarmingly high rates. To a growing number the traditional incentives of paychecks, union benefits and tenure are not enough.

Bold new incentives and reward systems are central to keeping good teachers in urban secondary schools. Drastic improvement in the school workplace is the first, and major, incentive for teachers.

The final decisions on what may or may not work ought to be decided by the local school community. They are the ones, after all, who are left with mediocrity when the best burn-out.

III. SCHOOL- COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Educators used to be a class apart. College degrees distinguished them from most others who did not have one. Furthermore, from among the wide range of options open to them, they chose to work with kids. It is no wonder that parents and communities gave special deference to people who worked in schools. School personnel accepted that status, but they paid a price. Then, educators were not to acknowledge that schools, as work places, could mirror the mundane or petty hassles of the outside world. Educators were above unionization. School level staff were forbidden to talk politics with students. The superintendent was not to be tainted by publicly acknowledged political ties. A comfortable bargain was struck: educators assumed increasing responsibility for the intellectual, social and moral development of children sequestered in schools; but they had autonomy to do it.

Times, as the saying goes, have changed. The past luxury of work place autonomy has been lost to drastic societal changes that caught educators unable to live up to the bargain. They can no longer guarantee communities that schooling will develop the full potential of adolescents. They admit, too, to work place pressures. In many cities the tradition holds that schools are off-bounds for the layman, but that separatism does not connote high status. Now, a voting public that numbers parents of school-agers in a minority is out to expose those ivory tower elitists for the worker-politicians they are. Teacher strikers and principal unionists cannot deny that they have moved to the arena of work world politics. Educational lobbies are big-time, high profile political contributors. Protracted big city school strikes and subsequent, costly contract settlements headline papers. However, in these same cities student achievement continues to fall far short of the State and national norms.

It is unfortunate that the failures of public schools have won prime time publicity just when voters are in need of an accessible scapegoat, but that is the case. Proposition 13 has popularized public discontent with bureaucratic "wastrels." Public disenchantment with schools has become so popular so fast that no one knows quite how to predict its outcome. Urban school communities are scrambling to eradicate programs that have been described as racist, sexist, anti-ethnic, anti-handicapped, anti-gifted and talented - and occasionally anti-average. They are also struggling to improve achievement scores that remain abysmally low, but they are just not acting fast enough. An observer cannot help getting the impression that school finance reformers, civil rights advocates and champions of the rights of students are awaiting a John-Wayne-Dewey-Shanker to charge in, say a few words, and straighten out this sad state of urban public secondary schooling. He is not on the way, at least that is how we see it. Instead, school personnel and urban communities have to "slug it out, stand up, dust off, shake hands" and get on with a mutual, and more realistic, agreement about who can do what to improve schooling for urban teenagers.

This "scruff-of-the-neck, look, buddy, I'll tell you my troubles, - you tell me yours, - politely" recommendation we have euphemistically tagged 'networks of support' and 'coordinated youth services.' Both are needed, if schools and communities are to learn to strive together.

Federal Support for School Community Development

Federal educational law, particularly the Education Amendments of 1978 (ESEA, P.L. 95-561), is very supportive of formal and informal interaction and exchanges of resources between schools and communities. The development of a closer relationship between the school and the home is a critical component of ESEA. Legislative language encourages the extension of education beyond school walls (Titles IV-C and Title VIII in particular). Other Federal agencies are also heavily involved in community networking activities. HUD's Community Development Block Grants (CDBGs) and Community Service Administration (CSA) both promote formal community participation in local revitalization efforts. ACTION, the Federal Volunteer Agency, supports community networking through grants, training and technical assistance. Its National Center for Service Learning helps high school students develop service projects.

A. Networking

Both a cause and a consequence of growing public disenchantment, the isolation of local schools from community supports threatens the very fabric of public education. Voucher movements appeal to the "private enterprise" and "individual freedom" threads that run deep in Americans. It is laissez-faire logic. Citizens perceive that the institution is failing. Their cure calls for de-regulated, non-compulsory schooling strongly laced with American entrepreneurship. Yet, analysts assessing the long-range consequences of a voucher system predict exaggerated differences in the quality of schooling between economic, racial and ethnic groups. Vouchers portend a U.S. version of a class system based on schooling and a death knell to equal educational opportunity as we now define it.

The question is how, at this late date, do we restore confidence in our public schools, especially those urban ones so impermeable to reforms. Obviously, the answer is to graduate students who can read, write and compute. We have talked in previous sections about how improving the internal program might help. Here we suggest some additonal steps by which schools can tap the extensive resources of their communities in an effort to reform. A first step is to rebuild ties to neighborhoods and break down the barriers, both real and perceived, that inhibit community-school exchanges. Strong networks that link the public school to parents, businesses, labor, industry, cultural agencies, private schools, higher education and community organizations must be carefully woven. These networks must provide continuous interchange between the schools and the public.

The school-site council recommendation described previously stems from the need to restore a sense of reciprocity between local schools, parents and taxpayers. A part of a site council role would be to build direct lines of communication between the school and community constituents and organizations. Councils, representing those outside the school as well as those within, would set and review policies and programs consistent with local expectations. They would also open avenues for exchange of information with the public on school successes and help needed.

This tack can be risky. However, understanding of issues and support for schools are not synonymous. Higher profiles of troubled schools may bring more criticism. However, public discussions in which school site representatives actively participate could help clarify issues heretofore misrepresented by special interest groups - often to the detriment of schools and the young people they serve. Schools must be clear that they do want community support.

We have identified eight areas crucial to networking. Each individual school could, more than likely, triple this listing. When that happens, the networks are underway. Our eight are:

1. Public Relations
2. Incentives for Outreach
   a. Reimbursement/tax credit
   b. Federal/State Convening Authority
3. Parent/Volunteer Involvement
4. Business/Labor/Industry Supports
5. Cultural Agency Ties
6. Public/Private School Cooperation
7. Higher Education Supports
8. School Facility Use

1. Public Relations

An especially important component or, perhaps, forerunner of strong community involvement is improved public relations. In most cities, the image of the urban secondary school is at an all time low; public figures and media coverage overdramatize drug and alcohol problems, school crime and violence, dropouts and inadequately educated graduates. A balanced presentation of successes and flaws would be more helpful. Media often give short shrift to student volunteerism, social service work and college acceptances. Schools must make sure that the public hears these stories, too. Public relations ought to be developed to the point that local schools could take a public stand on issues that affect their programs and students. Reverend Jesse Jackson's PUSH/EXCEL program capitalizes on just such a public relations strategy. He urges students, parents, schools and communities to raise issues, talk to one another, and resume mutual responsibility for schooling outcomes. School community newsletters, public service TV and radio spots, free publicity offered by signs in subways and buses, announcements in church bulletins, in local stores and so forth could raise community awareness of school affairs.

Another tack that might help to restore a modicum of balance is to open school doors to the public. Unfortunately, in crime-ridden neighborhoods where school doors are locked to keep violence out, an open door policy cannot be taken literally. Perhaps as citizen volunteers bolster school safety patrols and exit monitors, padlocked entrances will disappear. What citizens imagine goes on in secondary schools is often much worse than the actual truth. Certainly, an open door invitation to community residents may expose some problems. Vistors will notice the lack of facilities. They may feel slightly uncomfortable about being locked in such large buildings or expected to conform so carefully to prescribed behavioral rules. The visting public will also see the reality of day-to-day public secondary schooling - that is - many alert, interesting teenagers in classes with generally articulate, dedicated teachers. The visitor may volunteer some time and services - maybe not. More crucial is this beginning of dialogue between schools and neighborhoods.

Federal Support for Public Relations

Public relations is appropriately left to local discretion. Only the uniquely sensitive desegregation assistance program (Title VI, sec. 607(a)(5)) recognizes the need for local public relations efforts.

2. Incentives for Outreach:

Community involvement in schools is not likely to happen without incentives. Needed are federal and State legislative enactments to provide tax credits for private sector help to public schools; revision of the minimum wage laws to replace student pay with school credit for school-work plans; reimbursement of costs to local school volunteers and parents; and community educational development block grants that would complement neighborhood renewal efforts. Guarantees to school staff that volunteer help will supplement not supplant existing paid jobs are needed. Careful volunteer resource coordination at the school site will help assure that services are used systematically and effectively.

Also prerequisite for school-based outreach efforts must be clear district and school policies which encourage community-based activities as part of the regular school program. School staff support for, or willingness not to sabotage, greater community involvement in schooling is integral to school volunteer success. Renewed school-neighborhood efforts to improve the quality of secondary schooling may entail formal meetings between educators and neighborhood groups to thrash out concerns, establish mutual trust and define some initial programs.

They have the wherewithal to sponsor local conferences and can lend an important stamp of recognition and approval to groups committed to breaking down the barriers to expanded school-community interaction. An objective third party convener might minimize defensive posturing, hasten understanding of mutual concerns and goals and encourage both schools and communities to help one another.

Federal Support for Incentives for Outreach

The Federal government is reluctant to get involved on a large scale. However, Federal law contains incentives that could serve to enhance the schools' interrelationship with their communities. They fall under two categories:

a. Reimbursement/Tax Credits; and
b. Federal/State Convening Authority.

a. Reimbursement/Tax Credit: The only education law authorizing these direct financial lures is under the Vocational Education Act. The section on Cooperative Education permits reimbursements for added costs to employers for on the job training (sec. 122(c)). The Federal Tax Amendments of 1978 improve and clarify Federal tax incentives for private firms participating in cooperative education projects. In some instances, cost reimbursement has been arranged given sufficient Federal Administration concern. The Deputy Commissioner of BESE, for example, authorized payment of the travel costs of Title I parents for a conference featuring Jesse Jackson.

b. Federal/State Convening Authority: There is more than ample authority throughout Federal educational legislation for federal and/or State convening of conferences, workshops and training seminars in a broad range of relevant areas. In the case of Title I parents, conference travel and per diem costs can be reimbursed through various legitimate means, including invitational travel and direct contracts to outside agencies. When committed to solving a special problem, high level federal education officials can assist in providing support for convening, facilitation or technical assistance purposes. The Urban High School Reform Conferences are a case in point.

3. Parents and Volunteer Involvement

As we have noted, the luxuries of school isolation - if indeed there ever were any - are no longer affordable. The 'era of limits' forces public schools to make the most efficient use possible of existing resources. Many parents, senior citizens and other community members would welcome a chance to help out. They could work in virtually every aspect of the school. Parent and community volunteers have been hall monitors, home-school liasons, career counselors, classroom tutors, administrative aids and so forth. We know that expanded use of volunteers is not a very popular suggestion to school employees facing staff cutbacks. They fear that volunteers will supplant rather than supplement paid positions. That is not our intent. In fact, we think that it is a far too exaggerated worry.

The experiences that many schools and school volunteers report affirm our recommendation to bring volunteers, particularly parents and senior citizens, into schools. They do not reduce paid staff positions. They do bring important extra help for which schools cannot afford to pay. When schools use volunteers from the local community the adult/student ratio improves and the adult ethnic and racial composition more nearly reflects that of the student population (Besecker, 1979). Individual students spend more time with adults who are often parents or friends from the neighborhood. Teachers and counselors are freed from some of the paperwork burdens that take time away from interaction with students. Their help with hall and cafeteria monitoring makes for calmer school environments. Volunteer sponsorship of extracurricular activities enrich the school program.

Parent involvement tends to decrease as the child progresses to secondary school. Recognition of this has fueled policy makers' interest in developing a secondary school counterpart to elementary efforts. Parental involvement and school volunteerism are riding a tide of national commitment to the promotion of public service. The National School Volunteer Program's secondary school career counseling effort is flourishing. In many cities individual volunteers in schools have been matched by organizational supports such as Adopt-a-School programs, university-school pairings, executive-sharing plans, employee/teacher released-time programs and cultural and sports facility sharing. Other volunteer programs are experiencing a similar upsurge of interest.

We applaud this recognition of the value of volunteerism; but we also offer some cautions. Unrealistic expectations and unclear directions for volunteers can diminish their effectiveness. If schools are to have a viable volunteer component, they should consider the following prerequisites:

. volunteers should be given finite tasks that can be completed in the specific amount of time that they volunteer to schools;

. volunteers need to be oriented to the school and given training in the tasks they will be asked to perform;

. school staff ought to be trained for effective use of volunteer services;

. schools should have a volunteer coordinator who will orchestrate volunteer assignments at the school site and coordinate site and district-wide volunteer efforts;

. schools must find ways to reward volunteers;

. schools need to develop skill in recognizing tasks that lend themselves to volunteer help; and

. schools must find ways to sustain an on-going volunteer component.

We believe that volunteers can enrich urban secondary programs. To do so, however, they need to be well-thought out. Schools that have seen to this sing praises to their school volunteers.

Federal Support for Parent and Volunteer Involvement

Parent involvement is a cornerstone of the Education Amendments of 1978; and it surfaces at every Urban High School Conference, including the recently completed PTA hearings on Urban Education. Title I has had mandated Parent Advisory Councils (PACs) for some time; additionally, almost every other Title of ESEA urges the facilitation of ties between the school and the home. The enactment of various incentives, including monetary ones, could spur school volunteerism. Federal educational legislation is short on financial inducements but has language supporting volunteer activities. The extent and actual logistics are left to local discretion. National volunteer organizations have been pushing for legislation or regulatory language encouraging school volunteerism. A possible legislative recommendation for strengthening both parent involvement and school volunteerism might be to amend the Adult Education Act to include authorization for the training of parents who would like to become school volunteers.

4. Business/Labor/Industry Supports

The concern over the employability of youth has instigated many efforts to involve the private sector in secondary education. Ranging from individual workers donating time to be volunteer tutors, speakers and counselors - to corporate and union sponeorship of career exploration and work study programs, executive exchanges and management science advice, the potential contribution is great. It remains for educators to develop effective and efficient strategies for using outside help. To some extent they have, as indicated by the expansion of Adopt-a-School programs, business-school pairing for career preparation and student internships in cities across the country.

There is little information on the long range implications of increased private sector involvement in public schooling. Some fear that school curriculum already tends to sort students into worker, manager and leader categories. An expanded private sector role might exacerbate this. It might also lead to an overemphasis on work values at the expense of broader educational goals. We agree that schools are charged to do much more than educate for employment. Nor is the private sector geared to fully educate adolescents. Nevertheless, businesses, unions and industries should alert secondary schools to new career fields and employment training techniques. Schools, especially through school-site councils, can notify local organizations of how, specifically, they can help. Expanded interaction with the private sector should be more than student exposure to the work world or school use of private sector management skills. It could offer interdisciplinary studies on the personal, social and economic implications of making particular career choices and career changes or of being unemployed. Such explorations are invaluable in educating youth to be viable citizens in unpredictable future times.

Federal Support for Business, Labor and Industry Supports

The Federal government can facilitate collaboration between schools and the private sector with tax incentives and other procedural inducements. The Department of Labor and USOE's administration of Vocational and Career Education are currently active in the area.

5. Cultural Agency Ties

Cities are centers for art, yet it is possible for urban youth to graduate without having set foot inside a museum, theatre, or dance studio. That fact is reprehensible. Schools and cultural agencies must share the blame. Neither have sought out the other enough - an unfortunate fact considering the parallel dilemmas of young people and artists. Philosophers of all eras concur that both are crucial to the long-term survival of a society. Both have suffered through similar financial and status dilemnas. Both now struggle to raise national consciousness about their critical needs.

Schools and cultural agencies must recognize the natural partnership that they share. Young people must be exposed to the arts, and artists must educate the young to the central role of creativity in public and private life. Schools must solicit services from the local arts community. Similarly, local artists and cultural agencies must welcome young people into their studios, theatres and museums. This type of exchange is long-overdue. Its importance cannot be understated.

Federal Support for Cultural Agency Ties

Arts education was reauthorized in Part C of Title III. Title IV-C (sec. 431(a)(9)) and Title VIII (sec. 807(11)) authorize projects that involve cultural agencies. The Museums Services Act and the National Endowment for the Arts also support such linkages.

6. Public/Private School Cooperation

Private schools are a positive force in urban education. Free from many pressures that limit public school experimentation, private schools in cities often lead the way in innovation appropriate to urban school populations. Both the public and private school systems could benefit from increased cooperation. They could bring together different student populations and curriculum approaches. Students and staff of both kinds of schools could pool resources and experiences to mold new models for exemplary urban education.

Federal Support for Public/Private School Cooperation

The reauthorization of ESEA strengthened Federal support for non-public schools by mandating the inclusion of private school children in federal programs. Title XI establishes a Office of Non-Public Education to represent private schools in the U.S. Office of Education.

Two other federal activities in the non-public arena could have an impact on the interrelationship between the public and private schools. First, the Tuition Tax Credit Bill is now being reintroduced in Congress. It would extend tax credits to parents who send their children to private schools, thereby jeopardizing indirectly the public school system. Secondly, the Internal Revenue Service is engaged in legal action to deny tax exemptions to segregated private schools.

7. Higher Education Supports

Colleges and universities in close proximity to urban schools have many resources available to enrich secondary programs. In addition to aid in expanding research, institutions of higher education can:

. expand the number of slots for high school students in college courses;

. share facilities with secondary school students, class groups, professional staff and school-community organizations;

. develop a technical assistance capacity for training school site council participants and volunteers and for professional and program development; and

. offer school management workshops for principals in public relations, educational law and collective bargaining, energy management, evaluation, site budgeting and other areas central to effective site management.

Institutions of higher education already have special programs for disadvantaged youth. These should be developed to their fullest capacity. Every secondary school should be linked to a local postsecondary program funded for Upward Bound, Talent Search, Educational Opportunity Centers, Biomedical Science programs and other special services for disadvantaged youth.

Federal Support for Higher Education Supports

In the past federal legislation linking institutions of higher education (IHEs) to secondary schools has focused on pre-service and in-service training, educational research, and special programs for helping talented, disadvantaged youth continue their education. ESEA 1978 adds a more generalized impetus for IHE assistance to the public schools, as in Titles II and VIII. Bilingual Education (sec. 721(b)(1)) authorizes joint LEA-IHE applications for grants.

8. School Facility Use

More efficient use of public buildings is a national imperative growing out of the energy shortage. Many recommendations under "Diverse Learning Environments" called for expanded use of school facilities by schools. Here, we call attention to the potential use of school buildings by underfunded neighborhood organizations and social service agencies whose mission it is to serve the communities surrounding the schools. Schools, concurrently, are trying to re-establish links to the community. We think that it makes sense to open schools for social service use. As life long learning gains currency, adults will look to schools as service centers where the personal needs associated with intellectual, moral and social well-being of all ages might be met.

Federal Support for School Facility Use

Local discretion generally defines building use. In federal legislation community schools, Title VIII of ESEA is specifically designed for this purpose. The Adult Education Act also relies upon use of public school buildings as a locus of activities.

KEY ROLES FOR NETWORKING

The School Board: The school board must advocate school student needs in the public forum. The Board must form coalitions with city council representatives and community organizations to win support for urban secondary school priorities. They should adopt an 'open door' policy that encourages citizen visits to schools and citizen use of school facilities.

Business/Labor/Industry: The private sector must articulate their expectations for employment of graduates and pledge technical assistance to initiate stronger joint school-private sector programs. Businesses, labor groups and community organizations must adopt policies that encourage volunteerism. They should work to remove insurance, contract and scheduling barriers to expansion of community-based educational programs.

Principal: Principals must seek technical assistance to build viable public relations and outreach programs that articulate school needs, successes and concerns to the broad community. Principals can assure parents through regular communication and an 'open door' for drop-in visits with staff. They must promote staff use of volunteers and community use of school facilities as appropriate.

Parents: Parents must act as advocates of public schools. They must actually encourage community support, seek donated services and urge expanded parent volunteer involvement at the secondary level. Parents must also keep informed about school-related issues. They must vote for local government representatives, school board, and site council members who understand the need for - and will solicit - expanded community supports for public schools.

B. Coordinated Youth Services

The Federal government spends more than 20 billion dollars per year in child youth services program (Durman, 1979). With State and local additions to that total, the taxpayer might, with some justification, assume that even the child most severely in need is being helped. Not so, as anyone who follows TV or newspaper accounts of schooling can confirm. In spite of the seemingly enormous sums spent on youth services, many children continue to grow up in extremely disadvantaged environments that stunt physical, intellectual and moral growth.

Urban school personnel are acutely aware of this. Educators are generally the first to be blamed when the negative effects of home and neighborhood environments impede their pupils' learning. Urban teachers are some of the first to call for more effective coordination between schools and other public agencies with programs for children.

The current youth service scene is debilitatingly confusing. Schools often pay for services offered elsewhere while other needs go unfunded. Existing public agency programs are often narrow in scope, yet each has its own complicated set of applications, funding guidelines and so forth. Some students and their families qualify for several kinds of services in several agencies. Others are only eligible for a subsection of one. It is very hard to find out the range of options for any given student, family, school or neighborhood without hoofing it to each agency and confronting a program officer. Even then, the accuracy of the information may depend on the mood of the officer or the luck of the questioner in pinpointing just the right problems to describe. Moreover, the people most in need of the potential services are often the least likely to know how to ask or where to go for help.

School personnel and public agency employees agree that present overlap and confusion about existing youth service programs diminish their impact and fuel citizen disillusionment with public institutions. They witness "Proposition 13" ire and recognize that new money will not be forthcoming because youth services are so poorly planned, unwieldly, and inefficient. Simultaneously, they plead helpless to calls for coordination and consolidation between schools and public agencies. Public servants blame delimiting congressional intent, regulatory restrictions and turf battles among various lobby groups. Adolescents, meanwhile, go underserved, and tax dollars continue to be inefficiently spent.

The piecemeal growth of discrete and duplicative youth service is long-established and, many would claim, impossible to harness. Yet, research indicates that institutionalized patterns can be changed during times of crises. Such a time may be upon us. Data on the escalating economic, social and educational problems of teens in large cities certainly concur. Thus, growing public interest group demand for team work between schools, municipal government and the private sector might not be as naive as wizened politicos assume. The crisis -and concomitant chance to change old patterns- seems to have arrived. For example, a large proportion of urban secondary school student populations qualify for current Department of Labor-Youth Employment Training Program (YETP) funds earmarked for in-school employability programs. Urban schools should seize the chance to incorporate YETP funds and services into the secondary curriculum. Such a joint effort could add important options, free up limited school dollars, and focus career education in the institutions to which most teens and parents look for such services - schools. Conversely coordination between schools and community counseling and health service agencies, staffed to deal with teenage pregnancy, parenting, and drug and alcohol abuse, could help. School counselors would be able to refer students to these out of school services. This would assure adolescents professional guidance in very sensitive areas and free school staff for education related counseling. Similar synchronization of efforts could be possible with such agencies as D-HEW, HUD, Social Security Administration, Community Services Administration ACTION and national organizations and associations such as the League of Women Voters, the Chamber of Commerce, Urban League, ASPIRA and the NAACP.

The coordination recommendation does not suggest that schools usurp the tasks of other youth service agencies. Some activities and support services would be consolidated within the school, others would allow students credit or free time for out of school work, counseling or education-related activity. Such coordination would lead to more efficient and effective use of limited youth service money -to the relief of taxpayers and the benefit of the teenagers.

The cost of such coordination cannot be overlooked. Planning, start up and ongoing communication among ever-changing public service programs require extra dollars. This expense must be a permanent line item in each school site and district budget. However, the savings to schools could be great. Actual dollar costs could drop as duplicative services are eliminated and remaining ones are made more efficient. School staff would also receive psychic benefit.

A new "buzz-phrase" in domestic policy is "integrated human service delivery systems." It stems from a need for coordinated, centralized delivery of social services in locations such as under utilized school facilities. This is federal level acknowledgment of the considerable disarray and redundancy of existing urban youth services. Federal and State activities in the coordinated youth services area can be divided into the following categories:

1. Social/Services;
2. School/Work Services;
3. Desegregation Assistance.

1. Social Services

People who work in schools and see students daily are often the first to notice the health and welfare needs of individual students. These school people need strong lines of communication to agencies that can help, such as community health centers, mental health services, municipal recreational programs, and housing and welfare agencies. Social service agency officials must recognize the enormous potential for help that they can get from schools. The Childhood Immunization Initiative of DHEW, for example, could not have succeeded without school help. State and Regional health and welfare agencies are critical parts of the social service delivery system. State education department coordination with these agencies could catalyze local collaboration.

Federal Support for Social Services

Education legislation for inschool social services is limited. The Community Schools Act is the most comprehensive education legislation in the human services delivery area. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration the federal courts and the various Federal agencies dealing with alcohol and drug abuse, human development, rehabilitation services and welfare all interact to some degree with local school systems.

2. School/Work Services

The lingering urban youth unemployment crisis has spurred considerable activity at all levels of the public and private sectors. It makes sense for schools charged to expand career education to coordinate with agencies providing youth employment services. Centralized computer-based information on training and occupational opportunities fits the concept of integrating human services delivery. Urban constituents are critical of the confused array of employment, career guidance and continuing education information provided by both the private and public sectors.

Federal Support for School/Work Services

The heavy national emphasis upon reducing youth unemployment has lead to greater coordination between DHEW programs and DOL. The two Departments approved in 1979, an Interagency Agreement to establish an Interagency Task Force on Youth Employment. The objective is to coordinate all public and private sector school-to-work efforts. Two major Titles of ESEA, IV-C and VI, encourage collaboration with business and/or labor unions.

A noteworthy coordination of DOL and DHEW efforts in computerized information is the National Occupational Information Coordinating Committee (NOICC) authorized under the Vocational Education Act (Sec. 161(b)(1)(2)). The same section authorizes a network of State Occupational Information Coordinating Committees. The Higher Education Act (Sec. 124 and 125 of P.L. 94-482) authorizes Educational Opportunity Centers and Education Information Centers which are designed to assist disadvantaged citizens of all ages who wish further training.

3. Desegregation Assistance

The intellectual, social and moral retardation of children in segregated schools poses two serious threats to the well-being of our country. The education of these young people is "inherently unequal." Valuable human talent goes undeveloped. Society is, thereby, further stratified. Additionally, isolation from fellow citizens with differing traditions, expectations, lifestyles and languages fosters misunderstandings and divisiveness that jeopardize the very fabric of our democracy. Clearly, desegregation is imperative for a pluralistic society such as we now have. The courts have recognized this and expect schools and communities to do the same.

Virtually all educators agree that segregation must be eliminated from the public schools. The problem is that no one knows just how to do it so that students become the beneficiaries and not the victims of desegregation plans. As varied as the people who draw them up, integration formulas have shifted students, staff, boundaries and school locations in attempts to eliminate segregation. The plans have worked well in some cities - notably Denver and Tampa, Florida (Desegration ...., 1979). In others, even the talk of desegregation sparks agonizing rifts in schools and neighborhoods. Boston leads a list of cities in which secondary schools have been literal interracial battlegrounds. Sadly enough, these latter experiences more and more frequently characterize large metropolitan areas facing desegregation mandates.

The prejudices that trigger many protests against integrated schooling are reprehensible and point to the urgency of the need for viable desegregation plans. Yet, others who question integration formulas raise salient educational and social issues more difficult to brush aside. Some - educators, in particular - point out that the public school is the only social institution which has dealt at all effectively with desegregation. To a large extent, children and schools have been used as the agents for change of long-established prejudices in the broader society. When the plan works, this line of reasoning goes, the quality of life of the entire community is strengthened; but, when it fails, kids, schools and the community all suffer - with some of the most damage done to the very minority children the plans were designed to help.

Others point out that even when desegregation succeeds - that is schools operate smoothly with legally acceptable mixes of white and minority students and teachers - students are resegregated by ability and interest "tracks" that draw specific socio-economic and racial and ethnic groups. Thus, the real goal of desegregation - the removal of all forms of discrimination in public schools - is subverted by academic and social barriers in the curriculum. Rist (1970) and others lay blame for ability segregation at the feet of educators who, from kindergarten on, group children on the basis of falsely perceived skill levels. Teachers, some claim, are unwilling or unable to recognize equal abilities in youngsters with a wide range of dress, behavior and language styles. By the time the students reach the secondary schools their ability levels are "established." They are tracked accordingly.

Minority parents and educators are also troubled by the pervasive assumption that all - minority schools are inherently bad. Armed with data on the continuing racism and classism in integrated schools (disproportionate suspension and retention rates of minority students and academic and social isolation), these adults call for a halt to disruptive desegregation plans that may exact extraordinary psychic toll from teenagers forced into hostile learning environments. Develop excellent minority schools, too, is their solution. Still others reiterate the Jencks (et. al. 1968) studies that seem to demonstrate that schools do little to change the relative educational performance of students from different social classes. If schools merely reflect and replicate the society at large, even the best of desegregation efforts will not improve the life-chances of students unless the community itself demonstrates real support for truly equal educational opportunity for all. Clearly, the issue of school desegregation is rife with extraordinary social and moral questions. We cannot presume to offer any one best strategy that will clarify the issues or defuse concomitant pressures. We stress the overarching need for help to those seeking to quell the integration turmoil in large cities. We do insist that Federal, State and local governments come to consensus on what is to be expected of public school desegregation plans and provide immediate help to the communities affected - particularly those who voluntarily work to intergrate their schools.

Desegregation assistance is included under "Coordinated Youth Services" because it is apparent that efforts cannot succeed without the active involvement of all significant local public agencies and governance entities. Public school desegregation cannot be successful without coordinated community and political support. Metropolitan desegregation will require an even higher degree of leadership from the urban and suburban communities involved. Political support from local and State levels is also imperative.

Whether or not the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which legislated what the Supreme Court decreed ten years earlier, has really altered insidious and long-set patterns of segregation is open to question. Fifteen years later, the public educational system is still racked by pitched battles over how to integrate successfully. It can be done, and has, even in areas of the South thought to have some of the most deep-seated prejudices. It can also be done in large cities, but not without the coordinated efforts of all sectors of each local community.

Federal Support for Desegregation Assistance

Congress has been blamed for thwarting school desegregation efforts. (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1979, p.73). However, the Federal government is obviously very active - some would say too active - in local school desegregation. Apart from two major legislation enactments providing desegregation assistance (Title IV of the Civil Rights Act and Title VI of ESEA the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA); Title V of ESEA, State Leadership gives general authority for technical assistance to local school districts.

KEY ROLES FOR COORDINATED YOUTH SERVICES

Federal and State Education Agencies: State and Federal Education Agencies must design incentives and help schools coordinate multiple youth services at the local level. These agencies need also to catalogue existing youth services and disseminate up-to-date information to all involved in the coordination effort.

Local Government: Public officials charged with oversight of taxpayer dollars should know that it is ultimately cost-effective to coordinate. They must make sure that local laws and operating procedures facilitate efficient delivery of services to youth.

School Boards: School boards must use their political position to get assistance for secondary students. They must also adopt simplified guidelines by which schools might tap youth service resources outside regular school channels.

School Staff: Principals and counselors, in particular, must become aware of youth service information and how to access it. They must build working relationships with their counterparts in social service agencies.

Federal Support for Coordinated Youth Services

The Federal government has recognized the need for increased coordination of public and private efforts on behalf of youth, particularly disadvantaged students. The Joint Funding Simplification Act authorizes the designation of a single federal agency to act as liaison with local applicants in the case of cross-bureau grants. Title I (Sec. 124(f)(i)) now includes a mandate for local school district coordination with other community services. Community Schools, Title VIII devotes an entire section (806) to a veritable catalogue of federal programs that could be coordinated with community education programs, and another section (807) to a fairly exhaustive list of public service activities that could be supported under the Title VIII.

SUMMARY: SCHOOL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Schools cannot afford to set themselves apart from the communities that they serve. The failures of public education have won prime time publicity just when voters are actively expressing discontent with public institutions - schools especially. Taxpayers want schools to do a much better job of educating teenagers. Schools, however, should no longer count on extra dollars to do so. Urban educators and communities must call a truce in the.. current accountability wars and get on with a mutual, and realistic, agreement about who can do what to make junior and senior high schooling for urban teenagers much, much better.

These discussions should focus on two areas in need of improvement:

.Networking; and
.Coordinated Youth Services.

Networking: A first step is to rebuild ties to neighborhoods and break down the barriers, both real and perceived, that inhibit community-school exchanges. Strong networks that link the public school to parents, business, labor, industry, cultural agencies, private schools, higher education and community organizations must be carefully woven. These networks must provide continuous interchange between the schools and the public.

Eight areas crucial to networking are:

1. Public Relations
2. Incentives for Outreach
    a. Reimbursement/tax credit
    b. Federal/State Convening Authority
3. Parent/Volunteer Involvement
4. Business/Labor/Industry Supports
5. Cultural Agency Ties
6. Public/Private School Cooperation
7. Higher Education Supports
8. School Facility Use

All eight emphasize an open door policy initiated by the schools themselves. Ongoing dialogue should alert communities of the crucial needs and successes of their schools and let them know specifically how outsiders can help. Incentives for community involvement - particularly for parents and school volunteers - must stem from genuine desire on the part of school personnel to use the extensive resources of the urban community to improve their schools.

Costs for mapping out a school-community network would be minimal as urban systems generally have central staff capable of helping schools with these kinds of activities. Consequently, this strategy is another low cost - high benefit means to improve urban secondary education. Communities, too are strengthened by networks that link the resources of schools - their students - with those of the broader urban environment.

Coordinated Youth Services: Many children continue to grow up in extremely disadvantaged environments that stunt physical, intellectual and moral growth.

Urban school personnel are acutely aware of this. They also know that the current youth service scene is debilitatingly confusing. Schools often pay for services offered elsewhere while other needs go unfunded. This overlap and confusion about existing youth service programs diminish their impact and fuel citizen disillusionment with public institutions.

Schools must take the lead in coordinating schooling efforts with those of other agencies charged with helping youth, especially in the areas of:

.Social Services;
.School/Work Services; and
.Desegregation Assistance.

The coordination recommendation does not suggest that schools usurp the tasks of other youth service agencies. Some activities and support services would be consolidated within the school, others would allow students credit or free time for out of school work, counseling or education-related activity. Such coordination would lead to more efficient and effective use of limited youth service money - to the relief of taxpayers and the benefit of the teenagers.

IV. SCHOOL FINANCE AND RED TAPE

Two major governance issues confronting federal, State and local educators alike are school finance equalization and reduction of red tape - that is government requests for data, regulatory requirements and unnecessary or duplicative application processes. Raised in fairly equal proportion by urban educational experts and practitioners, both issues boil down to dollars. It takes more money to educate disadvantaged children in areas with high costs of living; red tape adds astronomically to administrative costs. Many small federal and State grant programs are ignored by urban school districts. A San Diego high school principal exclaimed in a seminar in July, 1979, "we cannot afford to take a grant for less than $15,000 - it costs too much!"

School finance and governance used to be somewhat simpler. When local property taxes and bond issues were able to support the public schools, there was little demand for federal money and the concomitant red tape. But education has become a very big business in the United States. We documented a 1976 figure of $100 billion for elementary and secondary education alone in Chapter One. Total educational expenditures accounted for about 8 percent of the GNP (Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance, 1979, p. 4). Consider that educating our children may cost $150 billion in 1979-1980, and is projected to hit $300 billion by the turn of the century (Burns, 1979).

Federal government is paying more and more attention to this once local domain. It has gotten to the point where a former U.S. Commissioner of Education can say that, "the chief policy making body in American education today is the U.S. Congress (Bell, 1978)." The next step is to establish a separate Department of Education with a direct line to the President.

What are the reasons for this burgeoning government interest? Until the 1950s local school boards were happily running schools without substantial federal intervention. The nation has always relied on the public schools to maintain the educated citizenry crucial to a healthy democracy. But threats to that image came from: Russian sputniks - result: the National Defense Education Act; racism - result: Brown vs Kansas in 1954, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Emergency School Aid Act; poverty and other educational disadvantages - result: the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Headstart, the Bilingual Education Act, the Education for all Handicapped Children Act, etc.; economic productivity - result: the Vocational Education Act (much expanded from its origins in 1917), the Career Education Act, the Youth Employment Demonstration Project Act; and more recently, disaffected youth - the result: legislation for everything from runaway youth to pregnant children. These are all "add-ons" or supplements to local programs and resources. Schools are asked to do much, much more - to correct injustices inherent in our socio-economic structure and to teach teenagers how to drive. They need more money to do the job.

A. School Finance Equalization

State and local mechanisms used to raise and allocate funds for the basic operations of the schools are being subjected to heavy judicial and legislative scrutiny. The historical systems of financing the schools are being rejected as violating constitutional guarantees for equal rights. Poor school districts in California, Maryland, New York, Texas and elsewhere are suing the States because they cannot raise enough money to give their disadvantaged student populations an education comparable in quality to their richer neighbors.

Why the sudden outrage? Because the great society days of sufficient, if not surplus, educational resources are over. In addition to the growing fiscal demands of meeting desegregation, busing, bilingual and handicapped education mandates - which are higher in poor inner city school systems - heavier outlays for energy, construction, materials and services, and staff salaries are clobbering all school budgets. At the same time, schools, especially in Northern and Midwestern core cities, are losing revenues related to declining enrollment. And we all know about the universal scourge - inflation.

The bottom line is that public education costs have risen 187 percent in the last 10 years, compared to an 80 percent increase in consumer costs (Market Data Retrieval, 1978). That is shocking. Now factor in public intransigence over local property tax rate hikes and school bond issues. California's Proposition 13 is the most renowned of the public budget-slashing measures. Nearly two-thirds of the states have enacted or are considering similar limitations on public spending. School bond issues suffer setbacks approximately 50 percent of the time (Boyer, 1979).

The exorbitant costs and dwindling public support are causes for concern in all sectors of the educational community. But the disparities between per pupil costs in poor and suburban districts and their differential capacities to raise funds is the real cause for the outrage!

The courts agree. States are being required to equalize school expenditures. But the battle is still broadening. Not satisfied with equal funds, lawyers for poor school districts are asking judges to factor in educational need and/or municipal overburden. They want parity or equitable school finance, not just equalized school dollars.

The States are being compelled to assume responsibility for a larger and larger share of the elementary and secondary education budget. Eleven years ago, the States provided about 39 percent of the funds; their share neared 45 percent in 1977-1978 (Sinclair, 1978). It could reach 50 percent soon, as school finance litigation and local taxpayer revolts force the States to fulfill per pupil foundation guarantees. In the wake of Proposition 13, it was thought that the local property-tax cutting efforts would increase the State's role and have an equalizing effect as well. More State aid to education would mean more State control over its distribution.

Funds come from the States in many forms: foundation programs; guaranteed tax-based plans; various compensatory education or categorical programs; discretionary grants; general aid in the form of block grants; capital loans; debt services; etc. The twenty-two States, which have begun to institute school finance equalization, are using various combinations of these forms of aid. However, States find it difficult not to succumb "to the pressures of the 'oppressed' middle and upper classes. We must not forget, ..., that States have a horrendous record of responding to the needs of political minorities (The National Urban Coalition, 1979, p. 3)."

So far, State school finance reform efforts in California, Florida, Kansas, Michigan and New Mexico have not been doing the job according to the Rand Corporation research we cited earlier. The researchers offered several possible reasons for the minimal impact: the reforms had conflicting objectives that reflect State reluctance to interfere with local control and to cut back on high spending districts. They dodged political perils by altering basic financing procedures, then making "add-ons" and adjustments that tend to favor wealthier districts (Sinclair, 1979).

While the States and their local school districts wrestle with ways to finance public education equitably, private initiative is making a bid to steal the show. Parents, who can afford it, are turning to nonpublic schools. "Private schools, for which the bell was tolling in the early 1970's, are enjoying an enrollment boom that reflects growing dissatisfaction with public education (Lescaze, 1979)." Robert Lamborn, head of the Council on American Private Education (CAPE), asserts that they are now serving about 10 percent of the population (Education Daily, 1978, p. 5). Tuition-tax credit legislation looms as a potential threat to public schools and a direct boon for private education. California's Family Choice in Education Initiative, the articulation of voucher system proponents, is another threat to public education according to school officials in that State. Futurists predict that corporations may become a major force in education and training in the years ahead (Doll, 1979). Urban school practitioners admit that they would like to see private sector involvement in their schools in the form of donated services such as management assistance, computer technology and volunteer time.

During the course of our work we have heard recommendations for some unusual public financing measures for urban schools - increased alcohol and cigarette taxes, commuter taxes, lotteries, and even pari-mutual betting. Times are tough!

Congress and the Federal government have been watching these developments closely. A major school finance study has been undertaken, which will include an analysis of the effects of federal and State compensatory education funding on finance equalization . While federal dollars account for only 8 percent of the total elementary and secondary budget - and Congressional budget analysts projected a 7 percent reduction in the federal outlay for FY 1980 (Urban Coalition, 1979) - some national leaders contend that the Federal government should provide up to 35 percent of the total in the 1980s.

Federal Support for School Finance Equalization

Current federal support is indirect. Congress in ESEA, Title XII-A delineates the federal role in school finance reform. It authorizes study of the issue and assistance to States trying to equalize their funding procedures. Title V-B (sec. 521 (1)) permits State expenditures of funds for the development of more equitable means of financing education. Section 1203(e)(3,4) mandates special studies of impacts of school finance patterns on large urban areas, minority students and weighting of classes of pupils. NIE is required to study the finance issue (sec. 403(a)).

Federal Support for "Urban Weighting" and Secondary Level Compensatory Dollars

The Federal government affects school finance through its program funding mechanisms. The largest elementary-secondary program, Title I, provides supplemental funds to LEAs for educating the disadvantaged. The low-rent housing program in Impact Aid (Title X) helps urban schools. Heavier weighting mechanisms for disadvantaged student population direct more Libraries and Learning Resources funds (Title IV-B) and Vocational Education funds to cities. ESAA (Title IV) and Bilingual Education (Title VII) funds tend to compensate for the educational disadvantages of students in minority isolated schools.

Federal Support for Discretionary Grants for Urban Secondary Schools

The two areas where urban secondary school constituents see room for improvement are in directing the flow of discretionary program dollars and in general education aid. Both recommendations bespeak the dearth of discretionary money for innovation and educational leadership in urban high schools.

Congress hears pleas for general aid or block grants from just about every constituency in every policy area. In 1971-72, USOE attempted to use existing authority to accomplish the objective of giving block grants or consolidating educational programs. Congress objected promptly and specifically; it enacted new sections of the General Education Provisions Act (sec. 421A(c)(1)(A,B,C) and sec. 421A(C)(2)(A,B) which prevent consolidations, waivers and/or commingling of funds. The last Congress attempted to resurrect the issue of consolidation (Domenici-Bellmon Bill); it failed in part, because key

Senators and Representatives feel that the only way to insure equal educational opportunity for disadvantaged and minority students is to target funds. The Senate Human Resources Committee commissioned a study of the Domenici-Bellmon proposal by the Education Policy Research Institute in Washington, D.C. The conclusions are ambivalent: consolidation might save paperwork, but it would probably weaken the way funds are targeted to the educationally disadvantaged. The proposed simplification would in fact be politically complex. Consolidation would also make program evaluation difficult if not impossible.

It is within the realm of possibility to anticipate a more favorable distribution of federal discretionary funds without consolidation. This depends in large part on Education Division leadership, since changes in program administrators priorities could be sufficient to redirect funds.

Equally important, if not more so, is the fact that logistics of small discretionary grantsmanship deter that large urban school districts' interest. USOE could entice more involvement by providing technical assistance, urban-relevant program information, and workshops on preparing grant applications.

KEY ACTORS FOR SCHOOL FINANCE EQUALIZATION

Federal and State Government: Their roles have been discussed extensively in the text above. They should continue to look to national educational organizations, private research foundations and academe for assistance.

Institutions of Higher Education, Private Research Foundations and National Education Organizations: These organizations are being called upon by State and federal school finance reformers. They should pool their expertise to come up with truly equitable funding measures appropriate to each State.

B. Red Tape Reduction

Gone with the days of fiscal simplicity are the days of comparatively regulation-free educational administration. Federal and State mandates for special programs and services, compounded by the recent trend toward increased State fiscal responsibility, have set the stage for a governance crisis in elementary and secondary education.

Let us not go overboard - local control is still a zealously guarded tradition in American education. But the fact that it has to be so jealously protected by local school districts and zealously guarded by States, Congress and the Federal Education Division is, in itself, omenous. It simply is not so clear anymore who is setting educational policy. Look who is involved. At the local level we have the 16,000 or so school boards, their central office administrators, principals for 100,000 schools, teachers and students, advisory councils and collective bargaining units. Add to that State and territorial educational agencies, legislators, governors, courts, school boards, and lobby groups. Finally, mix in the mandates of Federal courts, Congress, the President, the Education Division of DHEW, other Federal agency programs and the powerful national lobbying organizations responsible in large part for the legislation to establish a cabinet level Secretary of Education.

How can we expect to get a handle on the issue of control, given the sheer magnitude of the educational sector and the myriad loci of decision-making. The accompanying cacophony of decisions, memoranda, rules, standards, application forms, regulations, reporting requirements, laws and court rulings is, practically speaking, beyond comprehension!

School administrators rank federal and State requirements and the accompanying paperwork their number one problem. Some say they are prepared to forego funds in light of the excessive red tape attached to the money. They offer several remedies: general educational aid grants (consolidation); multiple year funding and corresponding reporting cycles; single applications; waiver provisions; reduction in reporting requirements; and clarification and coordination of regulations and monitoring practices.

An anti-regulation mood is sweeping the country. However, legislative intent to reduce paperwork has not yet been translated into action. Intentions, apparently, do not readily alter entrenched paper shuffling routines at the State and federal levels. Application forms should be standardized and simplified. Reporting timelines and funding dates should parallel the public school calendar.

Whether bureaucrats will make these adjustments without further prodding remains to be seen. If not, the spectre of 'watchdogs watching the watchdogs' may come to pass with legislators appointing monitors to check federal and State bureaucrats who check on local bureaucracies.

The apparent lack of trust of State and federal policy makers in the ability or willingness of local professionals to comply with their goals is highly exasperating. The regulations accompanying any new program add layers of administrivia and amount to negative incentives for districts who comply in a timely, efficient way.

Urban school people support the need to ensure that public money targeted for special services is spent appropriately. They know that some do attempt to subvert compliance requirements and misallocate money. But they feel that they should not have to pay for those few who merit the monitoring. Districts with exemplary compliance records should have more leeway in adjusting State and federal mandates to the particular needs of their schools.

So far, we have reproached only Federal and State government for the multitude of red tape. School site managers and teachers, however, do not spare the local educational agency when the blame is passed around. The urban district offices are not making it any easier for their schools. Central office staff are just as guilty as State and federal administrators who arbitrarily request data to suit their own budgetary and reporting cycles. Poor coordination and duplication is just as rife in the big city educational bureaucracy. The bureaucrats are as inaccessible to the local school teacher or parent as the federal or State mid-level official is to the local superintendent. That arbitrariness and inaccessibility is why we recommend decentralized decision-making in Chapter One. When authority is centralized, lots of paper and red tape assurances are required to maintain at least an aura of control.

Control and how or how not to exercise it are, in short, hot issues in the education community, particularly with the Department of Education debate raging in and around Congress. Urban school districts are often said to be beyond the control of anyone, particularly their State education agencies. Some States have initiated their own attempts to wrest control from the Federal government. The Pennsylvania and New York State legislatures have passed bills to give themselves control over federal funds. Meanwhile, Congress continues to write "fine-tuned" education legislation, hoping to countervail the consequent paperwork by legislating paperwork control!

Federal Support for Red Tape Reduction

The primary intent of Title XII-B of ESEA, Paperwork Control, is to reduce the data collection burden of LEAs. Title XII-C seeks to coordinate federal, State and local program administration by authorizing single applications and multiple year funding for suitable programs. Title VI (sec. 610) and Title VII (sec. 721(e)(l)) carry their own authorizations for multiple year funding. USOE just published rules for single applications for multi-program or multi-agency grants authorized by the Joint Funding Simplication Act of

1974. Their appearance five years after the fact coincides conveniently with the newly established Bureau of School Improvement - "a one-stop shopping center" for a variety of discretionary grants.

With respect to regulations, two items are worthy of note. First, the Secretary of DHEW's "Operation Common Sense" attempted to have the new ESEA regulation process expedited and, at the same time, opened for extensive public comment. It has met with very mixed success. Secondly, DHEW recently has introduced a new format designed to streamline the education regulations process. The Education Division Administrative Regulations (EDGAR) remove common administrative provisions from individual programs putting them, instead, in one package.

A final note, most of the above authorizations are aimed at easing SEA and/or LEA red tape burdens; there is little language referring to a reduction at the school site level where management time and energy is stretched to the breaking point. Two sections of ESEA, oft-cited in this document as progressive, are Title I's section 133 and Title IV-C section 431 (a)(6)). The former (sec. 133(C)(2)) relieves schoolwide projects of requirements against mixing funds and reduces reporting responsibilities. The latter encourages the demonstration of effective means of school-level management of federal, State and local resources.

KEY ACTORS IN RED TAPE REDUCTION

Federal and State legislatures and Administrative Agencies: As we have made clear in the above discussion, Federal and State governments are breeding grounds for most of the red tape. If its multiplication is to be reduced, government will have to clean up its act.

Local Education Agencies: If the Federal and State governments are breeding grounds for red tape, then LEAs are feeding grounds. They nourish and embellish upon the reporting requirements and regulations before passing them on to the school site. They must make every effort to coordinate their data requests, avoid duplication and to do as much of the legwork as they can themselves.

Education Organizations: The American Association of School Administrators (AASA), the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP), the Council of Great City Schools (CGCS), the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) and other national organizations should collaborate to develop for USOE, SEAs and LEAs, clearer, more efficient methods of exchanging intergovernmental information.

SUMMARY: SCHOOL FINANCE AND RED TAPE

Two major governance issues confront Federal, State and local educators alike: school finance equalization; and reduction of red tape. Raised in fairly equal proportion by urban educational experts and practitioners, both issues boil down to dollars. It takes more money to educate disadvantaged children in areas with high costs of living; red tape adds astronomically to administrative costs.

Federal and State mandates for special programs and services, compounded by the recent trend toward increased State fiscal responsibility, have set the stage for a governance crisis in secondary education.

Those governments can and must play a major role in school finance reform and red tape reduction. Urban schools need:

- .simplified and standardized applications and regulations, reporting forms and other paperwork;
- .coordinated, consolidated Federal/State funds (block grants to sites);
- .urban weighting formulas that compensate for disproportinate urban costs;
- .sources of funds for urban secondary school - discretionary grants tailored to secondary programs needs, education components of community development grants, etc.;

Schools are asked to do much, much more. They need money to do the job - in amounts that insure parity with suburban and rural schools.

V. RESEARCH AND DISSEMINATION

Teachers, counselors and principals are generally the first to ask and the last to know. The current educational research and dissemination process in the U.S. seems to milk local schools for problems worthy of research or suitable for dissertations that feed graduate students and employees of the National Institute of Education (NIE), regional labs, universities, and foundations. The information derived from those studies is fed into the federal, State and university network to generate further inquiries for those same researchers. School personnel, in the meantime, generally learn of pertinent findings only if the school library budget or their personal income is large enough to subscribe to the multiple journals publishing the data - or if they live near an ERIC file. So local practitioners are usually the last to know the latest scoop on what does or does not work. Additionally, among those asking the questions, elementary constituents are far ahead of secondary ones in winning research favor.

Many reasons can be found for the heavier emphasis on research in elementary education. Most believe the early years more crucial in guaranteeing the full development of intellectual and moral capacities. Thus, research emphasizes elementary and pre-school study. Subjectively, young children are cuter than 13-18 year olds, easier to work with in a controlled environment and less likely to talk back. Research also goes where the money is and from 1965 to the present, the money has been below the 7th grade. Research time not spent on elementary schooling is often focused on broad theoretical studies and statistical analyses of aggragate data. School finance and governance research is also heavily funded. The latter are issues of particular importance to taxpayers, politicans and school administrators concerned with getting the greatest educational benefit from limited dollars.

The fact is that research on adolescence is scant and the list of necessary research topics discouragingly long. We know little about skill development in teens, about how to prepare youth for careers, of the impact of the urban environment on adolescent learning or of minority-isolated and culturally biased schooling on adult life chances. Stress, classroom vs. experiential learning, time on task, teacher attitudes, private sector involvement and secondary school effectiveness, parental interest at the secondary level, support networks and motivation in adolescence are all areas where expanded information is needed.

The objective first recommendation is to study adolescents. Dollars for research should be channeled to secondary learning, starting in the junior high years. Junior high has the highest dropout rate, greatest reported violence, most serious test score decline, and least attention of any level of schooling. Secondly, systematic dissemination systems must channel research to district and school-site practitioners and site council planners. School libraries must become repositories of the most current educational research. Schools should receive regular publications from research centers, have access to ERIC data, and be included on university, foundation and lab mailing lists. Schools should also get information about approaches that work through regular contact with USOE's National Diffusion Network, the National Alternatives Schools Project of the University of Massachusetts, and other clearinghouses for exemplary program information. Current USOE Regional Office efforts to link communities to educational resources are an important start.

Concurrently, individual schools can develop a capacity for site-specific research. Staff, student and parent groups must have training in grantsmanship; access to Request for Proposal (RFP) notifications and funds for school-based research. Needed too, are organizational adjustments that encourage link-ups between school grant seekers and local research resources at universities, colleges, foundations and regional labs.

This kind of school site research has multiple benefits:

.it adds crucial information to the secondary school knowledge base;

.it allows individual schools to look at their specific concerns under controlled conditions to aid in long-range, site planning;

.possible research opportunities can act as incentives for students, staff and school community groups interested in local school concerns; and

.not the least, school staff earn psychic rewards from defining and analyzing school related questions for their colleagues, students and school community clients.

In light of the increasing sophistication of social science research methodologies and the ever-present need for suitable research topics by students and professional researchers, the research recommendations seem feasible. The call is, quite simply, for more of it, better publicized. The slightly new twist, helping educators at the school site conduct site studies, could add significantly to the knowledge base from which educational policies are formed.

KEY ROLES FOR RESEARCH AND DISSEMINATION

Federal and State Education Agencies: Federal and State education dollars must supplement limited local funds for research. National and State research and dissemination priorities must focus on urban secondary school needs.

Institutions of Higher Education: Colleges and universities must encourage faculty and student research in urban secondary education and urban studies, per se. They can require special emphasis on urban schooling in teacher, counselor and administrator training programs. Special workshops jointly sponsored with school districts and educational organizations and associations can focus on the special training, curriculum and management concerns of urban secondary school personnel and urban school communities. Other ways that schools and IHEs can interact might include: special graduate student internships to help schools develop site research capacity; expanded programs for secondary school youth; shared facilities - especially for recreational programs, science and the arts which require special buildings and expensive equipment.

Teacher and Counselors: School level staff must let the research network know just where the gaps are. They must seek out research findings and demand that school libraries subscribe to pertinent research journals. They should also make a special effort to familiarize themselves with existing dissemination structures such as the National Diffusion Network and State Identification, Validation and Dissemination Programs, USOE Reginal Offices and State Departments of Education. A part of that effort must include a willingness to work with researchers and dissemination personnel.

Private research organizations, foundations and educational associations: Groups in the business of educational research will inevitably recognize the gaps in urban adolescent and secondary schooling research. We ask that they move quickly in this direction, expanding, as well, research training capacity for the site level constituents interested in school-specific studies. They also need to publicize research more effectively - to inform those actually working at it as well as others in the research networks who also think about it.

Federal Support for Research and Dissemination

Federal research, evaluation and dissemination efforts do not have much impact on urban secondary schools. Federal legislation does not specifically authorize support for site research capacity building. The General Education Provisions Act (GEPA) describes

Federal research authority. The major responsibilities lie with NIE's Director and its National Council on Educational Research. The Council (sec. 405(c)(3)) is required to establish general policies for and to review the conduct of the Institute. It is also to prepare state of the art reports on the needs of educational research. Therefore, the Council could establish an urban secondary education research agenda.

GEPA (sec. 406) also authorizes the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) and describes its role in research on the condition of education.

Title IV-C, School Improvement, and the Commissioner's authority to make discretionary grants for special activities under Title III could conceivably support site research, although neither Title specifically authorizes it.

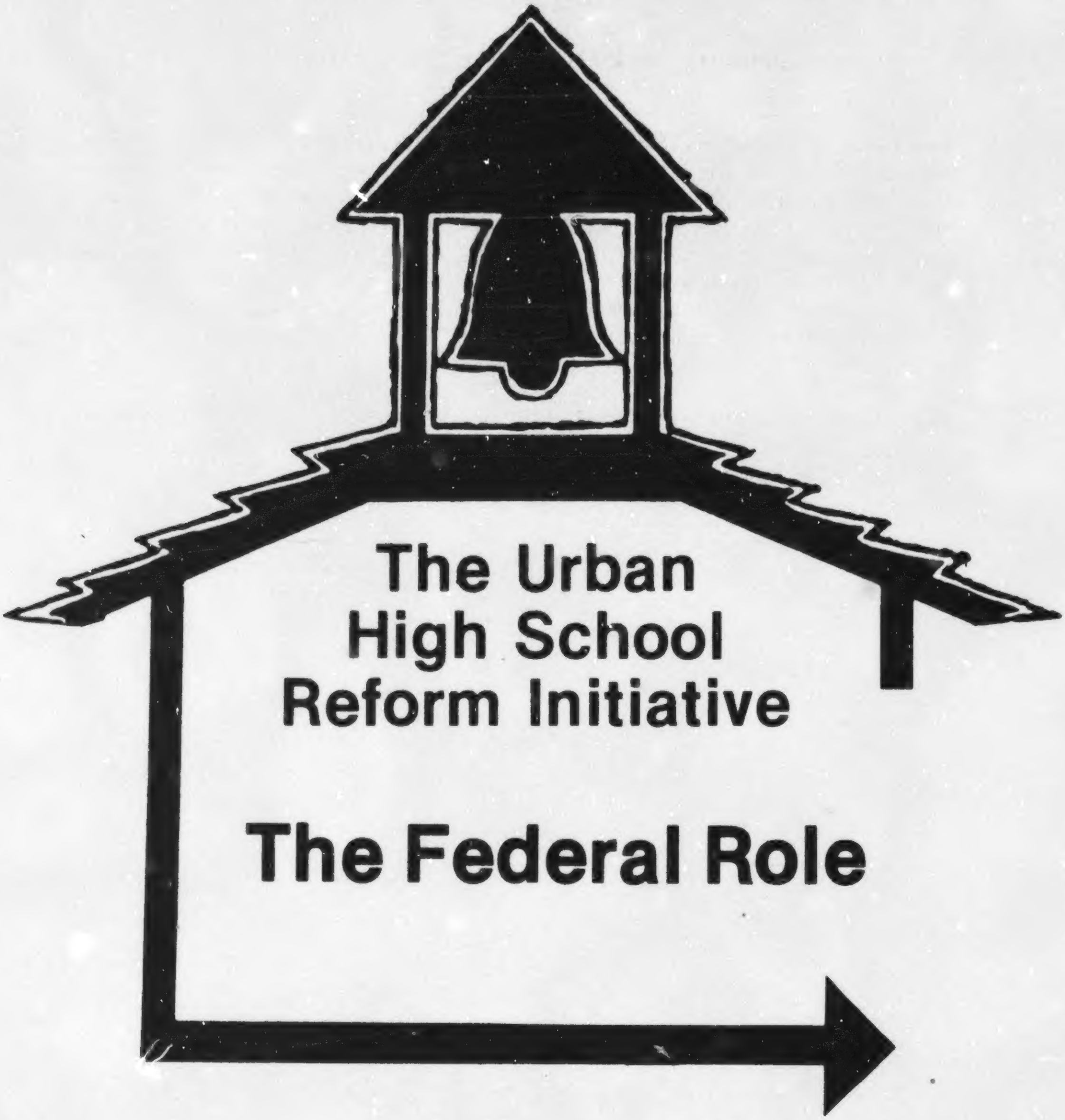
Congress intends that the Federal government take a major leadership role in dissemination. Responsibility for the spread of research and development information and of exemplary educational practices is a logical follow-up to the Federal role sponsoring educational innovation. Most of the Titles of ESEA carry a dissemination mandate. Titles I, III and V fall into this subpart as they authorize general educational program dissemination, while Titles II, VII, VIII and IX have dissemination authority only for special concerns. One of the primary jobs of the Regional Office of Education is to perform a dissemination function for all USOE programs.

NIE has a special dissemination unit. Although it does not appear in the law, the USOE's National Diffusion Network (NDN) is designed to play a major role in the replication of educational practices. Exemplary programs are subjected to rigorous evaluation by a joint USOE/NIE panel of experts before being accepted as part of NDN's Educational Programs That Work, its array of replicable projects. Similar in process are the intra-state Identification, Validation and Dissemination (IVD) Programs across the country. Outgrowths of the old Title III of ESEA, these networks are spreading successful educational models on a cost-effective basis. However, neither process had made signficant inroads at the urban secondary school level. NDN has, as part of the Urban High School Reform Initiative, begun a special effort to overcome this deficiency, mainly by increasing network interaction with urban secondary schools.

SUMMARY: RESEARCH AND DISSEMINATION

Teachers, counselors and principals are generally the first ask and the last to know. Research on adolescence is scant and the list of necessary research topics discouragingly long. Dollars for research should be channeled to urban secondary learning - including and possibly starting in the junior high 'no-person's-land." Systematic dissemination systems must channel research to district and school site practitioners and site council planners. School libraries must become respositories of the most current educational research.

Individual schools can develop a capacity for site-specific research. Expanded research on urban secondary schools and students can act as important incentives for communities interested in local school reform.



The Urban High School Reform Initiative

The Federal Role

September 1979

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

ERIC/CUE

CHAPTER FOUR: THE FEDERAL ROLE IN URBAN SECONDARY REFORM: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The ultimate direction for all Federal activities must come from local urban practitioners. They must tell the Federal government what they want it to help them do for their inner city secondary schools. Furthermore, these needs must be expressed within the limits of an appropriate Federal role.

The Urban High School Reform Initiative solicited advice from nearly 1,000 practitioners, urban experts and policy makers. Their testimony and our review of the literature identified many reasons why urban junior and senior high schools need attention and support from all levels of educational governance. In Chapter One, "WHY URBAN SECONDARY," we presented the findings that substantiate need. Chapter Three described some of the strategies for reform and suggests roles for the various institutions and individuals who should help. The Initiative staff analyzed existing Federal legislation to determine how the U.S. Office of Education can facilitate urban secondary school reform. Specific recommendations for each Act and Title of relevant Federal law are delineated in Appendixes A and B, Federal Educational Law and Urban Secondary School Reform: Volume I Reform Recommendations and Volume II Federal Support.

This chapter summarizes major policy directions for consideration by Federal leadership. Above all, Federal action must foster local urban secondary school capacity to reform. There are six basic modes through which both Federal and State governments can stimulate local change (Kirst, 1976). As a framework for understanding our policy recommendations, these are the ways the Federal Education Division could help:

1. Provide general aid - revenue sharing consolidation, or block grants to local school districts with no strings attached, e.g. last year's Domenici-Bellmon proposal, S. 1780;

2. Allocate funds for specific purposes - efforts to target funds through categorical aid, incentive grants, demonstration projects and purchase orders, etc., Title I, II, III, ... of ESEA, Voc. Ed. Act, etc.;

3. Regulate - legal mandates, monitoring, auditing, e.g. Civil Rights Act;

4. Conduct research and disseminate results - research and development projects, statistical surveys, special evaluations and diffusion activities of NDN, NIE, NCES, etc.;

5. Provide services - including Federal and State technical assistance and outside consultant services in specialized areas, e.g. desegregation assistance centers and teams, Regional Offices, comprehensive health education coordinator, etc.; and

6. Exert moral suasion - exercise leadership, "speechify", advocate, convene officials, e.g. Horace Mann colloquia, Urban High School Reform conferences, etc.

Urban secondary school practitioners made general pleas for more Federal support and offered specific recommendations that fall into all but one of the six modes. They do not want more regulations. Congress, although sympathetic to local complaints about red tape and poor coordination of Federal programs, rejects consistently proposals for general educational aid. The legislators, as well as high administration officials, are always willing to "speechify". But moralizing without follow-up action fuels disenchantment. This Commissioner's Initiative was heralded as a leadership priority in sessions with the press, national organizations and at the Regional Conferences.

The special urban education proposals and programs discussed earlier, including the Central Cities projects, the Urban/Rural School Community development efforts, and the Urban Education Task Force chaired by Wilson Riles did not fulfill their objectives. Changes in Federal, State and local leadership priorities and excessive funding demands stand out among the reasons for the lack of success. An over-reliance upon outside consultants, Federal program leaders, and other non-local change-agents contributed to the failure of the efforts. The two USOE programs that have established footholds in urban secondary schools, Alcohol and Drug Abuse Education (ADAEP) and Teacher Corps, both rely heavily on local initiative and practitioner and community involvement in program direction.

Many persuasive arguments can be advanced for maintaining the status quo. The major justification lies in the very mission of the Federal government in education as defined by Congress. In deference to the tradition of State and local control, Congress has prohibited the Education Division from exercising "any direction, supervision, or control" over local schools. In other words, Federal education officials are not to tell local school district recipients of Federal aid precisely how and where to spend it unless Congress so mandates. State and local educational governance has exercised its rightful discretion within the law as to the allocation of funds, and Federal officials should resist the temptation to give more direction. Federal compensatory education efforts are beginning to show positive results at the elementary level. To redirect existing funding could undermine recent successes. Changing the pattern may or may not help urban secondary schools, but it would probably be to the detriment of elementary schools and other secondary schools.

As noted above, Federal leadership efforts to improve particular aspects of urban education have been recurrent and short-lived. A partial explanation is that the bureaucratic complexity and rigidity of urban secondary school systems have made them almost inaccessible to Federal intervention. The failure of previous special Federal initiatives such as the Central Cities Program and the Urban/Rural Schools effort adds to the reluctance of Federal leadership to try again, unless Congress mandates the intervention.

Nevertheless, in our recommendations below, we say that another attempt should be made. We concluded that the status quo is not acceptable, but that new proposals for legislation and funding probably should not be advanced at this time because there is so little likelihood of their being enacted. The original objective of the Urban High School Reform Initiative was to propose new legislation for urban secondary school site capacity building. A draft proposal entitled "Technical Resources for Urban Secondary Transition (TRUST)" was prepared by the Initiative in late 1978. (It appears in draft form in Appendix C under Pilot Outreach Activity 6 - Legislation to Extend Urban Secondary School Reform). It was tabled by USOE leadership.

Recognizing that we will have to get along with the existing legislation and funding levels, we still do not recommend inaction.

In the following paragraphs there are three recommendations of feasible actions that Federal school people can take. The first is to encourage a modest redirection of ESEA Title I funds. Without taking away money from the existing elementary programs, State and local educational authorities can be encouraged to target the newly authorized "concentration" grants for urban secondary school improvement. Note that many of the improvements described in Chapter Three can be started with relatively small amounts of money. Remedial skills centers in junior and senior high schools, staff development strategies for secondary teachers and principals, and development of community-based networks, for example, do not require major investments to begin. Federal technical assistance to school districts, and Federal advocacy of limited redirection are appropriate activities. We recommend them.

A second reasonable Federal activity would be establishing a special advocate position at the Federal level to facilitate the recommended resource programming and to provide a focus for technical assistance leadership. Such a person could identify the people in the Office of Education who have the expertise to offer technical assistance in specialized areas. He or she could also identify needs that exist in multiple school settings and recommend development activities to create materials, special curricula, etc. for dissemination. A "model" school site planning and budgeting system, for example, could be very useful to school districts willing to give individual schools a degree of independence in allocating resources.

Unfortunately, there is not likely to be any single office or easily identifiable professional in the Federal government to turn to for explanations or advice, unless Federal leadership takes the initiative to establish such a resource. In early August, 1979, a new Federal position was announced: a special counsel for arts and education will serve as an advocate for the arts at the local school level. He or she will also function as a red-tape cutter for local agencies that could not otherwise find the person or office with answers about specific Federal assistance opportunities in the area of arts education. A recent NCES study discovered eleven Federal education programs that were supporting arts education. It is just such an advocate that urban secondary schools need, to focus the efforts that exist in isolation and to provide for coordination.

The internal advocate would provide quick and comprehensible answers for urban secondary school practitioners with questions about Federal programs. He or she should serve as a valuable source of technical assistance and information about training and funding opportunities, other incentives and policy support. He or she would perform similar functions to those of the special counsel for arts in education.

A special advocate, even without the ability to tap major new sources of funds, could be effective if the person were able to offer significant technical assistance. The assistance envisioned includes but would not be limited to budget targeting and grants solicitation for sources of funds outside the government. It would not, however, be useful just to create a position at a high level. The advocate must be able to offer a range of technical services that are truly useful to local school districts.

A third recommendation is to develop a coherent Federal policy for urban secondary school reform. Such a policy could include giving priority to secondary level applicants for such discretionary grants and contracts as: ESEA Titles II, III, VII, VIII and IX, Teacher Corps and Teacher Centers. It could urge the recipients of "concentration" grants to use the new monies at the secondary level, and could provide incentives such as relaxed reporting requirements and minimal red tape.

In summary, we recommend action rather than wringing hands. The three kinds of limited action are: (1) encourage redirection of funds to secondary programs; (2) provide technical assistance; and (3) develop Federal policy consensus for giving priority to secondary improvement. Later, new legislation and new funds may be justified if modest improvements can be shown to result from these limited actions. Refocusing priorities is relatively straightforward. More examples of technical assistance and dissemination services are provided below.

Generalized Information and Technical Assistance Services:

1. Foster the development, evaluation and dissemination of successful secondary school models; especially:

- compensatory projects that improve adolescent basic skills acquisition. This would require full cooperation between administrators of ESEA Title I, Title II, Title IVC, Title VI and the Office of Planning and Evaluation, the National Diffusion Network (NDN), the National Institute of Education (NIE), etc.

- model projects that link basic skill acquisition to outof school experiential learning especially in gainful employment. This would require collaboration between the Department of Labor, Office of Youth Training, Vocational and Career Education, and the programs already involved in teaching basic competencies to youth.

2. Support projects that integrate general academic programs with vocational and career education programs. Improve coordination and program articulation.

3. Improve Federal and State capacity to provide continuing technical assistance to urban junior and senior high schools.

4. Foster State leadership in desegregation assistance with ESEA Title V and Title VI funds.

5. Develop special "grantsmanship" training opportunities for urban secondary school practitioners to encourage more involvement in small discretionary grants programs both from the government and from private sources. The Bureau of School Improvement (BSI) should take the lead in this activity in collaboration with programs authorized under ESEA Title II, Title III, Title VIII, Title IX, Teacher Corps and Teacher Centers, Alcohol and Drug Abuse Education, and others.

6. Support passage of the proposed Urban University Grant Act (HR 3181) or some derivation thereof under the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, to provide opportunities for school staffs' professional development.

Information and Assistance Services for Specific Reform Strategies:

1. Encourage State and local decisionmakers to give existing parent and other community councils more authority. Include: ESEA Title I Parent Advisory Councils (PACs); Title II school/community collaborative arrangements; Title VI (ESAA) school commmunity councils; Title VII and Title XI, bilingual and Indian parent councils; Career Education community councils; and Teacher Corps school/community councils.

2. Use other appropriate discretionary funds to experiment with school site shared decisionmaking models, e.g. Title III-A, the Commissioner's discretionary grants, such as PUSH/EXCEL programs; and Title VIII, Community schools.

3. Strengthen the parent/volunteer involvement authorizations of ESEA by encouraging the use of Adult Education funds to help economically disadvantaged parents and other educationally deficient adults to develop the competencies that enable them to become more effective tutors of their children and more capable school volunteers. Provide training in local government operations.

4. Encourage the development of urban secondary school links to community organizations, especially volunteer groups, institutions of higher education and business, labor and industry. ESEA Title II, Title IVC, Title VI and Title VIII hold speical promise in this area, as do Vocational and Career Education, and the Department of Labor programs like CETA.

5. Encourage multicultural components in local staff development and curriculum development.

6. Support enactment of proposed legislation under the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, Title V, that would provide for inservice training of schoolsite administrators, and authorize grants similar to Teacher Center grants for Principal Centers and/or Executive Academies.

7. Assemble a national team of master teachers from urban secondary education to provide expert technical assistance for school site level professional training and curriculum development.

8. Make "municipal overburden" a priority of the School Finance Equalization studies being undertaken by NIE and USOE to fulfill mandates set under ESEA Title XIIIA.

9. Implement program coordination authorized by the Joint Funding Simplification Act, also administered by BSI.

10. Reduce paperwork and red tape by encouraging urban school districts to use multiple year funding and single application authorizations in ESEA and by enforcing the data collection control mandates in ESEA, Title XIIB.

11. Develop criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of compensatory education and affective educational programs at the secondary level. The Office of Planning and Evaluation, NIE, NDN, Title IVC

and the Joint Dissemination Review Panel (JDRP) and other programs with major research, evaluation and dissemination functions should identify such criteria so that local secondary school projects funded under ESEA Title I, Title II, Title VI, and others can build effective evaluation plans into project design, and so that successful programs can be disseminated more quickly.

12. Establish Research and Development Utilization Units (RDUs) or comparable efforts in urban secondary schools. ESEA Title IVB funds should be used to establish more accessible educational research reference libraries for urban secondary school practitioners.

13. Recruit urban experts for programs with major dissemination responsibilities e.g. NDN, the State IVD Networks funded under ESEA Title IV-C, the Regional Offices of Education and elsewhere.

Research and experience suggest that some form of outside technical assistance and support, like the activities listed above, can facilitate reform movements. The help should be clearly advisory, not directive or even advocatory. Educational brokers or extension agents for urban secondary schools could be highly appropriate. The Office of Education and/or State Education Agencies should be instrumental in providing such technical resources. Both would have to improve their own technical assistance capacity in urban secondary education. An information clearinghouse and a talent pool of outside experts should be maintained by USOE.

The proposed legislation under consideration in the reauthorization of Title I of the Higher Education Act, which would support the development of technical assistance relationships between urban universities and municipal agencies, has potential for helping urban public school systems. Support for it should be encouraged. The combined cost of small planning grants and the provision of Federal technical assistance would not be an extravagent amount compared to the budget for Title I concentration grants or desegregation assistance under Title VI. Additionally, coordination of internal programs such as Basic Skills, Teacher Corps, Teacher Centers, and Vocational and Career education innovation programs would be facilitated. The initiative's legislative analysis and other data provide a base of technical information.

Setting up the Position of Special Advocate for Urban Secondary Schools

Prerequisites for effective Federal advocacy for Urban Secondary Education include:

- full organizational commitment to the new function from all parts of the Federal education community;

- authority to coordinate and/or package Federal program information and/or funding where appropriate;
- a high level of expertise in urban secondary education;
- complete knowledge about Federal and State services for youth;
- expertise in local urban political analysis and policy brokerage;
- a comprehensive inventory of relevant Federal, State and local legislation, programs and exemplary projects;
- a clearinghouse on private sector efforts and national educational and minority organization policies in the youth services arena; and
- a comprehensive information base including data on programs, exemplary projects, a talent pool of external experts etc.

The special advocate would, in effect, be an entrepreneur for urban secondary school reform. Success would depend upon the degree to which the advocate is able to develop networks within Federal and State bureaucracies, and links to inner city school practitioners committed to reform, that is, to local entrepreneurs.

In order to surmount possible criticism about the fairness of special Federal consideration for just urban schools, the office may need to function as an advocate for disadvantaged youth in demonstrably underserved rural areas as well. A secondary school counsel could combine efforts on behalf of needy urban and rural schools.

Given the law's "sub-rosa" support of urban education, it has been relatively easy for Federal and State program officers to neglect urban concerns. The presumed suburban and rural bias of the educational bureaucracy at both levels of governance is blamed for the lack of program interaction with inner city schools, particularly at the secondary level. Other factors tend to exacerbate the problem. For instance, urban secondary school bureaucracies tend to be more complex, and more politically attuned, thus less accessible to intervention than the more homogenous suburban and rural school systems.

Vocational Education, the one major State formula grant program that does spend the bulk of its funds on teenagers is, nonetheless, in trouble in urban areas. The States, which control the funds, and their large city vocational education counterparts have a history of bad rapport.

The major objections to the establishment of a special advocate for urban secondary education are: that it is not clear who pays for it; and that it may not be fair to rural and suburban secondary schools and for that matter, to elementary education. Critics may also ask how the advocate's role is to be defined, and how the inevitable political pressure for special favors can be avoided. A somewhat more subtle but very real problem in Washington is that offices and initiatives without money find it very difficult to exercise any authority. An evaluation of the methods and effectiveness of the special counsel for Arts in Education would probably show a low-key style of advocacy and a capacity to provide ready information and good ideas. Most Federal Education Division leaders do not need to be convinced of the need to reform urban junior and senior high schools. They may, however, need help to devise ways of assisting those schools.

Prerequisite conditions for effective implementation of the option for a strong advocate may include combinations of the following characteristics:

1. The Two special counsel or advocate should have intimate knowledge of urban secondary school needs and political structures, and of Federal legislation and regulations. The incumbent should also have an established rapport with Federal program managers. Specific elements of the knowledge base (some of which has already been compiled by the Urban High School Reform Initiative) should include:

   - a comprehensive analysis of urban junior and senior high school conditions;
   - an inventory of relevant Federal, state and local legislation, programs and exemplary projects for youth;
   - up-to-date assessments of the impacts of Federal programs on urban secondary schools;
   - a clearinghouse on private sector efforts and national educational and minority organization policies in the youth services arena; and
   - talent pool of external experts available for technical assistance to urban junior and senior high schools.

   Many of these data could be computerized to provide quicker access for specific information.

2. The special counsel or advocate should have the authority to translate urban secondary school needs into Federal policy. Three major functions would be to:

- identify specific points of irritation, or "sore spots," between Federal policies and school conditions, such as maintenance of effort provisions; desegregation mandates; the timing of funding allocations; and waiver restrictions;

- refocus existing Federal programs and services to meet pressing urban school needs where feasible. In conjunction with the Education Division's Office of Policy and its Office of General Counsel, the advocate must be able to waive restrictions to the packaging of funds and assistance for urgent problems that arise outside of the normal planning and budgeting cycle.

- innovate in such a way that a critical mass of Federal funds and assistance would be directed to an urban junior or senior high school site eager to try such reform strategies as shared decision-making, school-wide diversification of educational programs, and/or school/community networking.

Real authority has been perceived to be missing in previous incarnations of special offices for urban education. This time, the office or advocate must have the authority to create priorities for existing programs and services. Ensuring that the advocate can exercise authority to refocus funds for immediate needs and to innovate with more substantive demonstration projects could take congressional action such as specific set asides of existing program funds subject to leadership discretion. Although we do not expect such increased authority to be available initially, we believe it should be considered in a future legislative program.

The initial activities require no new legislative initiatives. They should be undertaken immediately, with the understanding that even modest improvements, if demonstrated, could provide a basis for seeking legislative authority and funds to expand on the limited beginnings proposed here.

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